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THE JERUSALEM POST
Monday, February 20, 1984
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Orgad proposes budget adjustments

Quarterly updating comes under fire

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The Ministerial Economic Committee today is to renew its deliberations on the budget for the coming fiscal year, after a proposal yesterday by Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad for quarterly adjustments was criticized by other ministers.

Cohen-Orgad proposed a budget of IS4.36 trillion for fiscal 1984, but said this sum should be adjusted every three months according to the amount of revenue and the rate of inflation.

However, if Treasury forecasts are borne out that tax collection may fall next year, his proposal would mean reducing expenditure during the year.

Until now it has been the practice to submit a budget containing an annual inflation-rate forecast, on which it is based. If the inflation rate is larger than expected, an adjustment of the budget would be requested.

But Cohen-Orgad's budget contains no predictions about the rate of inflation. He said yesterday that the changes he intends to introduce will provide better control over expenditures.

Concerning the adjustment according to revenue, Cohen-Orgad declared after the meeting that this would obviate the need to print large amounts of money, a practice which could endanger the goal of lowering public spending.

It was this aspect of Cohen-Orgad's proposal which caused opposition by other ministers. Acting Prime Minister David Levy, for example, argued that the Treasury could not have a correct estimate of tax revenue based only on quarterly data.

Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir asserted that such a proposal would mean that the finance minister would be constantly occupied bargaining with the cabinet about the budget.

The delay in the approval of the budget law caused concern among Treasury officials, who were hopeful on the meeting's eve that they would have the committee's agreement. Nevertheless the officials were still confident that the budget will be tabled in the Knesset by Wednesday.

The officials conceded that still lacking is the agreement of Labour Minister Aharon Uzan on the ways to cut IS4b. in 1983 prices from the welfare budgets. The officials declared that the budget of the Labour Ministry would be printed at the very end.

Uzan complained yesterday during the committee meeting that the debate was centred on "matters of procedure," not on economic policy, and demanded a deliberation on the economic measures of the government. According to the Treasury, this debate will probably start tomorrow.

A woman runs away moments after Israeli jets yesterday bomb a building used by Palestinian terrorists in Lebanon. (UPI telephoto)

Tank, gun battles outside Beirut

BEIRUT. — Fierce fighting erupted last night between the Lebanese army and anti-government militias around Souk al-Gharb outside Beirut shortly after Israeli jets bombed several positions east and south of the city.

Army sources said the fighting began at dusk and both sides were using howitzers, rockets and tanks. Eyewitnesses said flares lit the sky over the area and explosions could be heard at a rate of at least a dozen a minute.

Meanwhile, Italy's conntingent of the Multinational Force began pulling out yesterday and heavy clashes between the Lebanese army and Moslem militias were reported along Beirut's "Green Line."

An Italian spokesman said 260 vehicles, including some armoured personnel carriers, were moved from Beirut's port to two Italian warships offshore.

The spokesman, who asked not to be named, said one Italian warrant officer was wounded by sniper fire during the operation.

He said only 15 men from the 1,400-man Italian contingent had left, but he added that all the Italians except about 100 would be leaving today. "The role of the contingent is over," the spokesman said.

Lebanese army sources said many army men had been killed within a few hours of the battle starting for Souk al-Gharb, although they declined to estimate numbers. They said the army had not lost ground.

The army has been bracing for a rebel assault on Souk al-Gharb, which stands on a strategic mountain ridge about 15 kilometres southeast of the capital, since Druse and Shi'ite Moslem militiamen drove the army out of other mountain positions to the south last week.

But the sources said it was not yet clear if the latest fighting was the start of a rebel attempt to take the town, the army's last main mountain outpost which commands approaches to the presidential palace and the Defence Ministry.

The fighting flared shortly after Israeli jets bombed at least three targets in territory held by Syrian and anti-government forces in the mountains and near militia front lines at Damour, 20 kilometres south of Beirut.

State-run Beirut radio said there was also heavy fighting in areas south of Damour where Christian fighters confront Moslem groups in several villages.

Bombing raid was intended to warn Druse

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

The Israel Air Force attacks yesterday on PLO targets in Druse- and Syrian-held sectors of central Lebanon were reinforced in Jerusalem by renewed calls to the Druse to prevent the PLO from moving southwards.

"The Druse should have a basic interest in keeping the PLO away from the south," a senior government official observed after the weekly cabinet meeting.

The official said there had been "some infiltration and involvement" by the PLO during the Druse assault on the Lebanese army south of Beirut last week. But there was certainly not "full cooperation" and Israel hopes the Druse will prevent the PLO from establishing bases in, or operating from, the area under their control.

At present, at any rate, the PLO have not reached a "line of confrontation" with the IDF, deployed along the Awali River.

The bombing of a factory seized by the PLO near Damour was plainly intended to drive home the message that if the Druse do not honour their commitments to Israel to push the PLO back northeastwards, Israel will act on its own to stop them advancing southwards.

The senior official made it clear that Israel would continue to send

(Continued on back page)

Lebanese deadlock after Syria rejects Saudi plan

Post Mideast Affairs Reporter
and agencies

There was little movement yesterday in efforts to resolve the political deadlock in Lebanon following Syria's rejection of a Saudi-mediated eight-point plan approved by President Amin Jemayel.

The state television said Foreign Minister Elie Salem met yesterday with Jemayel and later left for New York for discussions at the UN on a future role for UN troops in Lebanon.

Lebanese state TV denied that Saudi mediator Rafik Hariri was in Beirut with Syrian counterproposals to the plan Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal brought to Damascus over the weekend.

Hariri was earlier reported to have arrived in Beirut on Saturday night, dispatched there by Prince Saud after Syria had rejected the plan.

According to the TV report, Hariri had returned directly to Riyadh from Damascus.

In Damascus, meanwhile, Syrian President Hafez Assad is reported to have met yesterday with Lebanese Druse leader Walid Jumblatt and Shi'ite leader Nabih Berri.

No details of the meeting were given, but it almost certainly dealt with the critical military and political situation in Lebanon following the breakdown of the latest peace move.

Air Force jets blast 3 terrorist targets

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Israel Air Force jets yesterday bombed terrorist targets near Dumour south of Beirut and at Bhamdoun and Hammana east of the Lebanese capital.

The IDF spokesman here said that "terrorist command posts" in Bhamdoun and Hammana used as jumping-off points for attacks on Israeli soldiers in South Lebanon were hit. The third target was a building in Damour occupied by terrorists. All planes returned safely to base, the spokesman added.

The attacks reportedly began at 2:45 p.m. and lasted some 20 minutes.

As eight planes provided cover, four jets dived out of the clear sky attacking a large industrial site near Damour. Several minutes later the planes returned for a second run, Lebanese radio reports said.

According to the Associated Press the building was set ablaze and the flames and clouds of black smoke poured from it for more than an hour.

The Jerusalem Post was told that the abandoned lumberyard was attacked after Druse and "terrorist allies" had taken over the buildings. These forces had earlier attacked Damour and the Lebanese 4th brigade.

Two other targets were multi-storey buildings at Bhamdoun in the Druse-controlled zone some 15 kilometres east of Beirut and at Bammana in the Syrian-held area, some 20km. east of the capital. Members of organizations affiliated with the terrorist Rejection Front were located there, *The Post* was told.

Israeli defence sources have expressed concern that the terrorist forces that entered the Damour area to help the Druse, would stay there.

According to the Associated Press, Shi'ite Amal fighters said that some 15 members of their organization and their Druse allies were in the building when the raid began.

The last air force raid was on February 10 against targets near Bhamdoun and followed a rocket attack on northern Israeli settlements.

Veteran labour leader David Hacohen dies

David Hacohen, a founder and leader of Israel's labour movement, died in his home in Haifa yesterday. He was 85.

His coffin will be placed in Solel Boneh Square in Haifa between noon and 2 p.m. tomorrow. The funeral cortege will proceed from there to the family burial plot in Binyamina.

Among the public positions held by Hacohen was the ambassadorship to Burma. He was also one of the heads of the Histadrut's Solel Boneh construction company and a leading member of the Hagana.

As a Knesset Member Hacohen served for many years as chairman of the foreign affairs and defence, interior and labour committees. He represented Israel at numerous inter-parliamentary conferences and laid special stress on establishing good relations with Asian and African countries.

From 1953 to 1955 Hacohen served as ambassador to Burma. He was also the first Israeli leader to meet Chinese Premier Chou Enlai at whose invitation he led Israel's only good-will mission to Peking.

In the 1920s the labour movement helped him to establish the company for "public works and building," which later developed into Solel Boneh. By 1927 Hacohen was one of the two Jewish members of the Haifa Municipal Council.

Hacohen's organizational qualities, his friendships among Arabs, and his well-placed connections with the British paid off at the outbreak of World War II, at which time he travelled extensively throughout neighbouring countries to solicit business for Solel Boneh. The firm was one of the Allies' chief contractors in the area.

Solel Boneh completed vast projects including the building of roads and fortifications from Lebanon to

the Western Desert. Hacohen organized oil workers at Iran's Abadan refineries. He also conducted intelligence and sabotage work against the Vichy regime in Lebanon and Syria.

Hacohen was born in Homel, in the Ukraine, on October 10, 1898. His father, Mordechai Ben-Hillel Hacohen, was a banker and a writer. Mordechai Hacohen, from whom Jerusalem's Mordechai Ben-Hillel street takes its name, settled here in 1907 with his wife, Shifra, and his six children — three sons and three daughters.

The Hacohens, the Dizengoffs and nine other families were the first to move out of Jaffa into the small stone houses built on sand dunes on either side of a lane they called Rehov Herzl. These were the beginnings of the city of Tel Aviv.

Hacohen was among the first 60 pupils of the Herzliya Gymnasium. His classmates included Moshe Sharett, who was to be the second prime minister of Israel, and Dov Hos and Eliahu Golomb, founders of the Hagana.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Burg: Partition of Lebanon possible

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Interior Minister Yosef Burg suggested last night that one of the probable outcomes in Lebanon might be a *de facto* partition of that country.

Speaking in Jerusalem to the Israel Chapter of the Rabbinical Council of America, Burg mentioned the possibility, and then, suggesting this was a slip of the tongue, added, "I don't want to be quoted by any newspapers." But he continued to enlarge upon the idea of *de facto* partition, noting that there would be a "small enclave around Beirut," the Syrian-controlled region and another under Israeli control.

As for the Israeli occupation, he suggested it would continue "until we can ensure the security of our northern border," intimating that he could see no end in sight to this occupation.

McFarlane: 'We won't move fleet to accommodate UN'

Jerusalem Post Staff
and agencies

WASHINGTON. — Robert McFarlane, President Reagan's assistant for national security affairs, said yesterday the U.S. would not move its warships from positions off Lebanon to accommodate any UN peace-keeping force.

Asked whether the U.S. would relocate its fleet if that is a condition for the establishment of a UN force in Beirut, he said: "Absolutely not."

Interviewed on television, McFarlane also said U.S. ships would continue firing on Syrian-occupied parts of Lebanon "as long as Americans are in danger."

The presidential adviser said it had been perhaps "naive" of the administration to believe Syria planned to withdraw its forces from Lebanon, but he defended this assumption as a basis of U.S. policy decisions.

"At the outset of our involvement," McFarlane said, "Syria's commitment publicly and at Arab conferences was that it would leave Lebanon...

"That statement of policy on Syria's part was not only to us but to other Arabs and a matter of some standing in the Arab community.

"They've simply reneged."

Meanwhile, Secretary of State George Shultz said yesterday that it was the IDF's unilateral withdrawal

(Continued on back page)

3 IDF soldiers hurt by grenade in Sidon

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — Three Israeli soldiers yesterday were slightly injured in Sidon when a handgrenade was thrown at a foot patrol. The three received first aid and continued with their duties.

A local resident also was wounded in this blast and several stores were damaged. The area of the attack was closed and searched.

French truckers' blockade spreads across the country

PARIS (AP). — Independent truckers, whose blockades have crippled traffic in the French Alps for four days, extended their protest across the country yesterday with convoys of tractor-trailers creating backups from the Atlantic coast to the Mediterranean and along the frontiers.

Police said one person was killed and five others injured in three separate overnight accidents attributed directly to the truckers' strike.

Thousands of frustrated vacationers remained stranded throughout the Alps, either crowded into emergency shelters and unable to reach area ski resorts, or prevented from leaving them and returning home.

Police reported sporadic fist fights between tourists and truckers. In St. Jean de Maurienne, an enraged motorist tore the door off a blockading truck while other motorists ringed the driver and shouted insults.

More than 1,000 riot police and army troops were deployed in the French Alps, but authorities clearly were hoping to avoid violent confrontations and police generally kept their distance from the truckers.

The blockades, which began as a spontaneous protest against a slowdown by customs agents at the Italian frontier, have turned into a major test of strength with France's Socialist government.

The two main truckers' associations representing the country's 32,000 owner-operators and small fleet owners are demanding immediate negotiations on demands for reduced fuel taxes, amended border crossing procedures and relaxed safety regulations.

The government says it will not bargain until traffic returns to normal.

Israel National Centre for Purity of the Family
28 Rehov Yissa Bracha, Jerusalem

We share the grief of a friend of our organization, a woman of manifold activities for Tora and the purity of Israel, a woman of keen sensibility

Mrs. Miriam Hochstein (Fink) תחי'

wife of the renowned member of the Directorate, Rabbi Dov Hochstein הי"ד

on the death of her revered mother, whose name for good deeds was well known

JENNY FINK ע"ה

We offer condolences to all members of this distinguished family. May you find consolation in continuing your good work in support of purity of the family, and Tora.

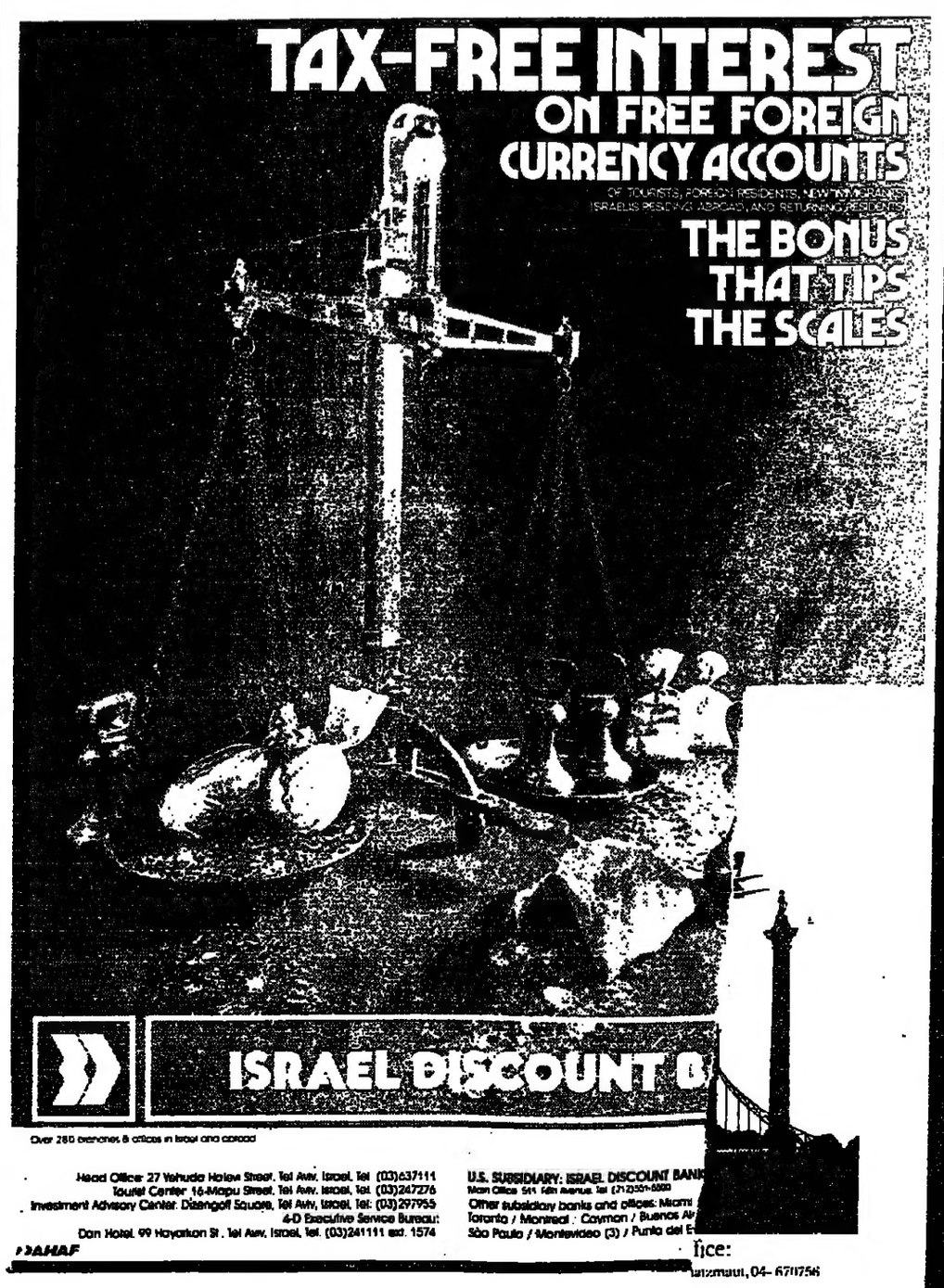
The Directorate

DAVID HACOHEN

in no more

The funeral will take place on Tuesday 21 February 1984 at 3 p.m. in the family burial ground at Binyamina.

The Family



The weather at major Swissair destinations

13.2.1984

	MIN C	MIN F	MAX C	MAX F	
AMSTERDAM	-2	28	3	27	Clear
BRUSSELS	-6	21	-1	30	Clear
BUENOS AIRES	25	77	30	86	Rain
CHICAGO	2	36	5	41	Rain
COPENHAGEN	3	27	1	34	Clear
FRANKFURT	6	21	1	34	Clear
GENEVA	11	12	-2	28	Clear
HELSINKI	15	5	-3	27	Clear
HONG KONG	13	55	15	59	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	15	59	27	81	Cloudy
LISBON	0	46	13	55	Cloudy
LONDON	1	30	5	41	Clear
MADRID	-2	27	12	54	Cloudy
MONTREAL	-1	30	4	39	Clear
NEW YORK	6	43	13	55	Rain
OSLO	-7	19	-2	28	Cloudy
PARIS	-3	27	6	43	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	21	70	34	83	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	19	66	30	86	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	2	28	-1	30	Clear
TOKYO	1	30	6	41	Clear
TORONTO	2	36	7	45	Clear
VIENNA	8	18	2	28	Cloudy
ZURICH	11	12	-2	28	Clear

For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Cooler, rain possible in north.

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Max
Jerusalem	25	7–16	14
Golan	15	7–16	12
Nahariya	—	———	15
Safad	25	7–12	9
Haifa Port	36	14–20	17
Tiberias	25	11–23	19
Nazareth	25	9–18	15
Afula	23	10–22	19
Shomron	36	11–19	16
Tel Aviv	43	12–18	17
B-G Airport	41	9–21	20
Jericho	17	12–25	21
Gaza	29	11–20	18
Beersheba	33	7–20	19
Eilat	16	7–25	24

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

President Chaim Herzog yesterday received David de Rothschild, president of the UJA-Keren Hayesod campaign in France, Michel Topiol, co-president, and Dr. Avraham Avihai, Keren Hayesod World Chairman.

Four Yiddish writers were honoured yesterday by the World Federation of Jewish Journalists at a reception held at Beit Sokolov and hosted by Arye Zimuki. They were: Moshe Ron, on receiving the *Unser Wort* of Paris award; Jacob Cypel, editor of that paper; Yitzhak Brat, of *Letzte Nayes* of Tel Aviv, who received a prize from the Jewish Journalists of France; and Mordechai Zanin, who received the prize of the chairman of the Zionist Executive.

In Memoriam

MK Yitzhak Rabin yesterday spoke at a meeting in Ashdod commemorating the 23rd anniversary of the drowning at sea of a group of immigrants from Morocco aboard the Pisces (Egoz).

ARRIVALS

For the Jewish Agency Board of Governors and the UJA-Keren Hayesod Board of Trustees meetings: From Australia: Isador Magid. from Britain: Michael Sacher; from Canada: Joe Ain, Charles Bronfman, Phil Granovsky, Manuel Batshaw, Walter Hess; from France: David de Rothschild, Michel Topiol, Rafi Ben-Simon. from South Africa: Julius Weinstein

Klarsfeld completes S. American effort

BUENOS AIRES (Reuter). — Nazi-hunter Beate Klarsfeld has ended her campaign in Chile, Paraguay and Argentina for the expulsion of war criminals, saying she does not expect results inmediately.

She told Reuters that her South American tour was aimed partly at denouncing the protection she believed Latin American dictators gave to war criminals.

"I had no illusions about taking (Walter) Rauff home with me or of seeing (Josef) Mengele captured and expelled right away," she said in a telephone interview Saturday. "Results are never immediate."

Singing for tourism

TEL AVIV. — The choir of the IDF Chaplaincy Corps will leave within a few days for a tour of Jewish communities in the U.S. to encourage tourism to Israel.

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...y worker for ... Women, and ... with her niece, ... of Jerusalem, ...947, and just ... return visit to
...el and Ruth ...ality Founda... ...usalem.

To our friend,
Yosef Lapid
the Editors Committee Presidium
and his family
...est wishes on the marriage of
...ughter Michal to Yehoshua
Israel Editors Committee

3 MKs get involved in hunt for terrorists

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

Three Alignment MKs got caught up in a chase after terrorists in Lebanon yesterday, while on a tour of the region. They were inspecting Israel Defence Forces vigilance for a Knesset subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs and Defence mittee.

Mordechai Gur, Shlomo Hillel and Michael Bar-Zohar were driving with a senior army commander and an armed escort through the Shi'ite area close to Nabatiya when they heard over the radio in their vehicle that a terrorist band had carried out an abortive attack against an IDF patrol.

The senior commander, who is responsible for the sector, told the MKs he was changing the plan of the tour and hurrying to the scene of the incident. As it happened, he arrived first on the scene with his VIP guests, but by that time the terrorists were nowhere in sight.

Gur, Hillel and Bar-Zohar also drove through Jibshit where the Shi'ite religious leader, Imam Raj Hahreb, had been slain in an ambush during the weekend. The village walls were plastered with photos of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and placards showing a sword severing the head of "the Zionist snake."

Hahreb's murder, however, has apparently not intensified the animosity towards Israel which pervades the Shi'ite village, the MKs were told. The imam's neighbours believe he was attacked by relatives of a man thought to have been murdered last year by Shi'ite extremists.

The three MKs talked to a large number of officers and soldiers and said later they were impressed by the high state of alert of the units they encountered.

The four coalition MKs in the subcommittee did not join the tour.

Kollek warns rabbis about effect of religious extremism

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

"It is not me, but you and your children and grandchildren who will suffer," Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek told a group of Orthodox rabbis in describing what he called the growing tendency towards religious extremism.

Speaking to the Israel Chapter of the Rabbinical Council of America, Kollek said it was religious moderates who were the first victims of violence by ultra-Orthodox fanatics. He told of parents in the Old City being threatened to keep them from sending their children to state-religious schools. Many such families are moving out of the Jewish Quarter, he added.

In another instance, he said, a group of Iranian Jews were told by hassidim that they could not build a synagogue in a certain area.

Kollek said he was proud that Jerusalem has become "the greatest centre of Tora studies in the world," but he added that the question is whether other Jews and non-Jews have a right to live in Jerusalem.

He urged the Orthodox group to show tolerance towards Conservative and Reform Jews in Jerusalem and towards Christians, saying that the problem of Christian proselytizing had been vastly exaggerated.

The Israel chapter of the American Orthodox body last night inaugurated Rabbi Azriel Gerstein as president, succeeding Rabbi Emanuel Rackman.

Habad again tries to block Aguda grants

The Habad hassidic movement yesterday applied to the High Court of Justice for a temporary injunction barring the government and the finance minister from including in the 1984-85 budget bill an itemized list of allocations to be made to the Agudat Yisrael Party's religious institutions.

Justice Eliezer Goldberg is to rule on the application today.

Yesterday's Habad move came in support of a previous application by the movement to the High Court, in which it won an order *nisi* requiring the government to explain why it should not cancel existing arrangements for allocations to institutions of Agudat Yisrael, the National Religious Party and the Tami Party. The order also required the government to explain why Habad institutions should not receive allocations equal to the other groups.

In its application yesterday, Habad accused the government of trying to undermine the original High Court order by preparing a bill which would anchor established practice in the law and thus be beyond the jurisdiction of the court. The government's action, said Habad, also constitutes direct and illegal interference with a matter before the court. (Itim)

HACOHEN

(Continued from Page One)

Hacohen was planning to settle when World War I broke out. He and Sharett left for Istanbul to join the Turkish army.

After the war his father, who meanwhile had founded Halva'a Vehisachon, the first cooperative bank in the country, sent David to Britain to study at the London School of Economics. There he and Sharett shared a room for the next three years.

Upon his return in 1923 he found his brothers prospering as farmers in Binyamina. He himself settled in Haifa. One of his sisters had married Arthur Ruppin, the economist and sociologist known as "the father of Jewish settlement." Another had married Shlomo Ginossar, son of the noted philosopher Ahad Ha'am.

Hacohen was the author of numerous books and articles.

Together with his second wife, Bracha Habas, who was co-editor of *Davar*, he wrote The *Pan-Asian Congress in India*. His *Burma Diary* was published in 1973, and his autobiography, *The Time to Tell*, appeared in 1974.

This last book was written aboard a Zim freighter during a two-month journey. It is dedicated to Moshe Sharett and records many little-known events, struggles and misfortunes in Israel's history. Written during the post-Yom Kippur war period, Hacohen expresses a deep concern for the quality of civic and parliamentary life in Israel.

The book's tone may have reflected his personal disappointment, on having been omitted from the 1969 Alignment list of Knesset candidates.

To demonstrate his undiminished vigour he continued to lead and develop together with Ya'acov Meridor the Atlantic Fisheries and Shipping Co. He took up the chairmanship of Haifa's Committee for a Beautiful Israel and headed numerous other civic groups.

David Hacohen was a frequent contributor to *The Jerusalem Post*. His "Formula for Peace" published in 1978 was the credo of a concerned and free-thinking individual.

He was married three times: to the late Ruth Kavtzov, to Bracha Habas and to Zipora Arbel. He is survived by a son and two daughters from the first marriage, and a daughter from his second. A.Z.

Saudi envoy in Beirut freed by kidnappers

BEIRUT (AP). — The Saudi Arabian consul in Beirut, Hussein Abdallah Farrash, has been released by his kidnappers after spending more than one month in captivity, police reported yesterday.

Police said Farrash was released at the Syrian-Lebanese border on Saturday and was taken inmediately by Saudi officials who took him to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. They gave no other details.

Farrash was taken by Syrian intelligence officers from the southern suburbs of Beirut to the Syrian border after last week's battles between the Lebanese Army and Syrian-backed opposition forces which left West Beirut in the hands of the rebels.

VISIT. — Zaire Tourism Minister Najoli Balonga is to visit Israel next week as the guest of Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir.

Indian policemen kill 2 protesters

NEW DELHI (Reuter). — Two persons were killed and eight injured yesterday when police opened fire for the second day in succession on protesters in the troubled north Indian state of Haryana, the Press Trust of India (PTI) said.

The shooting followed the death of one person Saturday, when police fired on rival groups fighting in Haryana.

The renewed violence came as Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's personal envoy, T.N. Chaturvedi, assessed communal tension in Haryana and neighbouring Punjab.

PTI said an attempt to assassinate a local politician earlier yesterday in Punjab failed, but the attackers escaped. Sajjan Kumar Jhakkar, a state assembly member of Gandhi's ruling Congress (I) Party, was not injured.

Disturbances in the two states were sparked by a strike sponsored by Hindu militants last Tuesday in protest against what they called government favouritism towards Sikhs.

MAGIC FLUTE.— Seven busloads of Jerusalem music-lovers yesterday formed a convoy to Tel Aviv, where they attended a performance of *The Magic Flute* given by the Cologne City Opera Company.

Jerusalem district police commander Tat-Nitzav Rahamim Comfort yesterday welcomes Haj Daoud Wazuz (centre) and Haj Amin Marjum, members of an East Jerusalem delegation. (Rahamim Israeli)

East Jerusalem group thanks police

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

More than 100 East Jerusalem merchants and professionals yesterday expressed gratitude to Jerusalem police commander Tat-Nitzav Rahamim Comfort and his staff for their efforts foiling the recent sabotage attempt at the Al-Aksa Mosque, but warned that the city could yet "be dragged into a vicious cycle of violence."

A delegation from the East Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce, led by chairman Haj Fahd Barakat, presented a statement with 103 signatures to Comfort in his office where he thanked them "for something that is all too rare — members of the public expressing gratitude for those who work day and night fighting crime."

The delegation's statement deplored "extremism from anywhere in the city." Comfort suggested that there be regular meetings between the police and leading East Jerusalemites, but the delegation members were non-committal.

Nablus firm wins order against tax men

A Nablus commercial firm yesterday won a show-cause order from the High Court of Justice against the tax officer of the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, after alleging that the authorities had extorted millions of shekels from it by threats and intimidation.

Supreme Court Justice Aharon Barak gave the tax officer 15 days to explain why he should not return the money to the firm of Abd al-Tahar and Sons, a building contractor.

The application to the court states that on January 29 of this year, tax investigators of the civil administration impounded the firm's books and asked Tahar to accompany them for an investigation.

Tahar said in an affidavit that an investigator named Ya'acov Turgeman told him he would immediately have to pay IS5 million or be arrested. When Tahar said he could not pay such a sum, the investigator took cheques from him for IS3m. and IS2m. The authorities cashed the cheque for IS3m., but not the second.

The company's attorney, Ya'acov Kastel, protested to the tax authorities, citing a similar case involving a firm in Ramallah, which also had been assessed IS5m. by investigator Turgeman.

Kastel said the legal adviser of the civil administration had told him that such assessments are illegal and that regulations to that effect had been issued. Nevertheless, when Kastel asked for his client's money back, his request was denied. (Itim)

Lebanese refugees seek IDF protection

METULLA. — About 2,000 Lebanese Christian refugees from villages north of the Awali River yesterday demonstrated opposite the Good Fence here, urging that the Israel Defence Forces protect them.

Edmund Khoury of Salahiya, near Sidon, said, "We came here to seek the protection of the IDF, because we are the real allies of Israel. We want the IDF never to leave Lebanon."

Assiya Azik, mayor of Jiya, said that lately most of his villagers had fled to Southern Lebanon, fearing the approach of Druse fighters and terrorists. He said that most of the Christians between Damour and Sidon had fled.

Many of the demonstrators later participated in a ceremony in Marjayoun marking the 40th day since the death of Maj. Sa'ad Haddad. Speakers called on those present to join Haddad's militia.

Jailed as spy in Yemen, becomes Israeli Jew

ASHKELON (Itim). — An American who spent 13 months in a Yemenite jail on charges of spying for Israel has recently converted to Judaism and become an Israeli citizen.

David Tyrrel, 27, now known as David Ben-Avraham, first visited Israel nine years ago. On subsequent visits he met Jews who had emigrated from Yemen and became fascinated by the community, he told reporters yesterday.

Tyrrel said he heard about the suffering of the remnant of Jews still in Yemen and decided to visit there.

He said he arrived in North Yemen in 1981 and found employment with an American contractor. Slowly he began to meet Jews in various towns.

Then one day as he was meditating at the grave of Rabbi Shalom Shabazi in Taiz he was picked up by the local police. He was brought to court on charges of spying for Israel after Israeli correspondence was found in his belongings.

He said he was sentenced to a year in prison together with his employer. Some Yemenite Jews with whom he had been in contact were also rounded up, but they were later released, he said.

The two were freed from prison after 13 months, and in October 1982, Tyrrel returned to Israel.

His ordeal having only served to strengthen his former interest in Judaism, Tyrrel decided to convert, the process being completed two weeks ago, Tyrrel said.

Now a fully observant Jew, he lives in Moshav Azriel and works in Netanya.

He says he remains very concerned about the fate of the remaining Jews of Yemen, whose number he puts at 4,000 to 5,000, and he called for their release and immigration to Israel.

U.S. denies secret talks with Arafat

NEW YORK (AP). — National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane yesterday denied that President Reagan was aware of reported secret U.S. negotiations with the PLO three years ago.

He was referring to a report in *The New York Times* yesterday that for a nine-month period, beginning summer of 1981, the Reagan administration conducted secret discussions through an intermediary with PLO chairman Yasser Arafat.

"I don't know a thing about it. Neither does the President, and I took time to check with him before coming on today," McFarlane said in an interview on ABC-TV's *This Week with David Brinkley*.

The *Times* report, quoting American participants in the effort, said the talks were aimed at persuading Arafat to accept Israel's right to exist in exchange for U.S. recognition of the PLO. Arafat broke off the discussions in June 1982, with no certain sign that they were succeeding, after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The *Times* identified the intermediary as John Edwin Mroz, 35, a specialist on Middle Eastern and Soviet affairs, and said he acted on authorization from the then secretary of state, Alexander Haig Jr. Mroz, currently president of the Institute for East-West Security Studies in New York, was director of Middle East studies at the International Peace Academy in New York when he began the mission.

Officials have said that the U.S. promise to Israel that it would not recognize or negotiate with the Palestinian group until it acknowledged Israel's right to exist, does not rule out contacts limited to seeking fulfilment of the conditions, the *Times* said.

Soldier killed in road accident

BEIT SHE'AN. — A soldier was killed and another was slightly injured in a road accident at about 4:15 a.m. yesterday about two kilometres from Kibbutz Gesher in the Jordan Valley.

A military truck travelling from the Tzemah junction to Beit She'an collided with a semi-trailer coming from the opposite direction, police said. The military vehicle rolled over and burst into flames. Its driver was killed on the spot.

The injured soldier told police investigators in hospital in Afula that he saw a bus full of passengers travelling toward them at the time of the accident. Police are requesting that passengers on that bus report to the nearest police station to provide details about the circumstances of the accident. (Itim)

4 students injured in Nablus brawl

By MICHAEL EILAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Four students were injured at Najah University in Nablus yesterday during a brawl between student factions.

The fight broke out during an argument between student-council members and members of the "activist committee" over the boycott of classes taught by teachers who signed the military government's declaration promising not to support the PLO.

The student council favours such a boycott, while the activists' committee opposes it.

Four students were taken to hospital. Three were released during the day and one is still hospitalized.

The army did not intervene.

Dear Members of
the Fink and Hochstein Families
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your beloved mother

JENNY FINK

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née Cohn

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née Marcus

The funeral will take place today, Monday, Feb. 20, 1984, at the Sanhedria Funeral Parlour, Jerusalem.
For information as to the exact time of the funeral, please call 02-632771, 02-432570 or 02-667615.

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Her parents: Rabbi and Mrs. Reuven Marcus and Family in Israel and the USA

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Phyllis and Sol Weissman
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Hadassah — Israel
Hadassah Medical Organization
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JENNY FINK

Devoted friend and benefactor

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The entire staff and student body express their condolences to

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upon the passing of their dear mother

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May you find comfort in your historic efforts to bring Jews back to Judaism and Israel.

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College for Women

OHR SOMAYACH
Institutions

Bar-Ilan University
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Devoted friend and "Yakira" of the University
and expresses its sincere condolences to
Dr. Reuven Fink, member of the Board of Trustees,
and Mr. Bernard Hochstein and their families.

Berman raps Levy for his views of the U.S.

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Coordination of foreign policies between the U.S. and Israel is "very good," American allies like France and Britain have much more to complain about than Israel," Julius Berman, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations said yesterday.

Berman, summing up last week's four-day conference in Israel, was commenting at a press conference in Jerusalem on statements by Deputy Prime Minister David Levy before the American Jewish group. In his speech, Levy attacked the U.S. administration for failing to consult with Israel on important issues while demanding that Israel conform to U.S. views. Berman added that there is no question that in the past year, the alliance between the two countries has been "stronger than ever."

Levy's reasons for bringing up the issue, Berman said, was either a "lack of understanding" of the subject or "local political" reasons.

Berman will meet today with President Mubarak of Egypt in Cairo, following an invitation from Mubarak extended earlier this month. Berman said that he wrote to the Egyptian leader after reading in *The New York Times* a statement by King Hassan of Morocco that Mubarak had washed his hands of the Camp David process. That, said Berman, would be one of the topics to be raised. Although Prime Minister Shamir approved the meeting, Berman will not be carrying any messages from the government to Mubarak, he told reporters.

Asked about the struggle for Soviet Jewry, Berman said U.S. officials had advised Jewish groups not to invest all their efforts in American-Soviet contacts. Instead, Jewish leaders met recently with British Prime Minister Thatcher, calling on her to present the problem to Third World members of the Commonwealth who might intercede with the Soviets on humanitarian grounds. It is still too early for results from these contacts, Berman said.

The conference chairman telephoned former premier Menachem Begin on Friday, and found that he had carefully followed the press coverage of the conference sessions. Although Berman tried to "invite himself" to see Begin at his home, the former premier begged off a visit, but "he seemed much better than I had expected. He answered his own phone."

Housewives—get out, and stay young!

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

If you are a housewife and want to stay young, do outside work as well, a leading sociologist suggests.

Addressing an all-day Na'amat seminar for secondary-school girls in Jerusalem on Friday, Hebrew University Professor of Sociology Rivka Bar-Yosef said: "Women who are only housewives age much faster than women who go out and work."

What is more, she told the 140 girls, the favourable image of the "plain housewife" is being challenged by the times, and there are already signs in Israel that society no longer wishes to think of its women as "only housewives."

Despite this, women have still got a long way to go in the Israeli job market, she added. For example, in the civil service women on the average hold lower grades than their male counterparts.

Challenging the view that young women should avoid careers in technology, Bar-Yosef told the girls that "within five to eight years from now the so-called feminine jobs — secretary and office supervisor — will disappear as radical changes in office routines emerge."

Ruth Lev, Na'amat's secretary, advised the girls to prepare for employment in high-technology industry. "Because in 10 years, the Israeli economy — and our everyday lives — will be dominated by these industrial enterprises. So if young women do not act fast, they will find themselves outside of the mainstream in a few years."

Zahava Adan, senior adviser to the Education Ministry on psychological matters, called on the defence establishment to shift women soldiers from office work to technical jobs.

Shapira finds he can't use luxury car here

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The luxury car that cannot be freed, has been gathering dust in Haifa port, since it arrived from the U.S. weeks ago.

Brought here by coalition chairman Aguda MK Avraham Shapira as a "personal import," the big, luxurious Ford Lincoln is also running up storage fees for him. The Transport Ministry refused to license the car when it arrived, and it has since been standing around in the port.

A Ministry spokesman explained to *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that personal imports of cars are sanctioned only through authorized dealers, to ensure that there will be spare parts, garage services and service available in Israel. Israel Ford agents do not have the car on their list of import models.

Moreover, the model uses lead-free petrol, which is not available in Israel, another reason for not allowing its importation, the spokesman said.

It appears that Shapira's only option may be to send the car back and get a more conventional model.

Arms-plant workers intensify sanctions

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The 1,400 workers at the Soltam arms and ammunition factory in Yokneam are intensifying their job action in support of pay demands.

At a mass meeting yesterday the workers decided not to work overtime and to take a break between 11 a.m. and noon today and tomorrow. If by Wednesday they have received no commitment from the general management of the parent company, Koor, to open negotiations, they will strike for two days.

They also agreed to continue starting work at 8 a.m., instead of 7 a.m.

The industrial action, which began last Wednesday, was taken to back demands for higher pay after management had upgraded the salaries of Koor clerical staff by 25 per cent.

The spokesman for the works committee said it is unfair that only a part of the work force should receive substantial rises.

He said Soltam is one of the few profit-making concerns in Koor and can therefore afford to pay its workers the increases they were demanding.

A management official said the industrial action is affecting Soltam's production, a large part of which is exported.

The Haifa Labour Council is not backing the workers' action although it sympathizes with their demands.

PHOTOS. — The museum at Kibbutz Lohamei Hagetaot recently acquired a collection of 250 rare photos depicting Polish Jewry during World War I.

Pro and con at weekly war protest

By MICHAEL EILAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Officers and men from a reserve battalion which had been serving in Lebanon yesterday joined the weekly demonstration in Jerusalem by Kibbutz Ha'Artzi members against the war.

One of the officers, Rav-Seren (major) Arik Hatzor read a letter signed by 28 officers and men to Prime Minister Shamir. The letter says that the soldiers feel that the army as a whole does not want to stay in Lebanon — "a foreign country where we uproot orchards, bother the civilian population, wreck houses and undertake arrests, searches and roadblocks."

Before the Kibbutz Ha'artzi demonstration there was another demonstration of about 60 members of the right-wing Tzomet Movement.

During this demonstration one man reportedly said to the anti-war demonstrators that "another grenade is on its way," — a reference to the grenade that killed Peace Now activist Emil Grunzweig at exactly the same place. The police were informed about the threat. The Tzomet demonstration was against the anti-war protest, which Tzomet members said harmed the state.

Over 600 kibbutz members and some Kiryat Gat and Jerusalem residents came to the small hill outside the Prime Minister's Office for the anti-war demonstration — which has become a weekly event.

Court affirms wife's hold on husband's stocks

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The Tel Aviv District Court yesterday rejected the appeal of a stock-market investor to lift a court-ordered attachment of his stock holdings as a guarantee of support payments for the man's wife and two children.

In response to a suit by the wife, the court recently issued temporary attachment orders against the couple's apartment, its contents, the husband's car and his stocks, which were estimated by his wife as worth some IS900,000.

The woman argued in her suit for support that her husband spends all his time playing the stock market, to the extent that she and the children lack sufficient food. She is demanding her husband pay IS85,000 monthly to support her and their children.

In asking the court to lift the attachment on his stocks, the husband argued that the attachment orders against his possessions are sufficient to guarantee the support payments. The court disagreed, but allowed the man to continue buying and selling stocks in the attached stocks account, while denying him the right to draw money.

Unemployed man hangs himself in Ashdod

ASHDOD (Itim). — A local man, despondent over being unemployed for a long period, hanged himself in a park here Friday night, police said. The body of Barahani Badhana, 34, was found by worshippers on their way to synagogue on Saturday morning.

Badhana was a resident at the local immigrant absorption centre. Police said a note found in his room read: "It's hard for me in Israel. My sister died. The police should not be afraid."

Police said that the last line of the note evidently was meant to tell them that Badhana's death was not the result of foul play. Police said that he had immigrated six years ago, leaving most of his family in Ethiopia.

MK Avraham Shapira, centre, gets an inside view of a jumbo engine at Ben-Gurion Airport yesterday. He was one of the members of the Knesset subcommittee dealing with El Al which toured installations of the national airline at the airport. (Nissim Ozeri)

Grupper: Farmers who export hurt by exchange-rate policy

By ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper said yesterday that the 30 per cent of Israeli farmers who depend on exports for their livelihood are suffering from a major economic crisis because of the government's exchange-rate policies.

Grupper told his cabinet colleagues at yesterday's weekly meeting that the exchange-rate insurance scheme for exporters is of no avail to agricultural exporters, since it is mostly based on the dollar and hardly helps exporters who earn European currencies. Ninety-five per cent of all farm exports go to Europe, he noted.

The agriculture minister said that a special fund of $40m.-$50m. must be created immediately to supplement the exchange-rate insurance arrangements for farmers who export to Europe. Otherwise they would cease exporting and probably cease cultivating as well, he said.

Farm exports could probably be increased between 10-15 per cent annually, he said, if the exchange-rate arrangements were satisfactory.

Farmers selling products locally are weathering the economic troubles, Grupper said.

Grupper said he would oppose the establishment of any new farm settlements because the local produce market was already saturated, while experts do not offer a livelihood under present conditions.

He said that even efficient farmers cannot overcome the drawbacks of the unfavourable exchange-rate and they will be out of the running altogether when Spain and Portugal join the Common Market.

He said that if farm exports dry up, the standards of local production will inevitably fall as well.

Grupper said that every country has a policy on farm exports that is different from its policy for industrial exports, since the two categories are not comparable.

Local man and German jailed for smuggling hash

TEL AVIV (Itim). — An Israeli drug smuggler was sentenced yesterday by the district court here to four-and-a-half years in prison, and his German courier was sentenced to three years, after they were found guilty of trying to smuggle more than three kilograms of hashish to Holland.

Yigal Afellan, 25, of Jaffa, was convicted of buying the drug and packing it into a double-bottomed suitcase. His courier, Werner Kanis, was convicted of trying to board a plane at Ben-Gurion Airport with the suitcase.

A defence attorney for the two men said that since hashish is not a hard drug, the court should be lenient in sentencing. But judge Victoria Ostrovsky-Cohen said that the crime was a serious one and merited exemplary punishment. She praised the police for their alertness in stopping Kanis.

Record bridge entry

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Bridge-playing Israelis have snatched up all the places in the three-session Philip Morris Open Pairs, the central event of the 18th annual Israel Bridge Festival.

Tournament officials reported yesterday that more than 300 pairs have purchased entries for the event, and that latecomers will have to be turned away. The Festival is taking place at the Mandarin Hotel.

Jewish war veterans plan meeting here in 1986

TEL AVIV. — The next international meeting of Jewish war veterans is to be held in Jerusalem in 1986. This was agreed last week by representatives of American Jewish War Veterans leaders Josef Zoldan and Robert Stone, and their counterparts from the Israel War Veterans Association. They also agreed to join efforts to prevent the sale of West German arms to Saudi Arabia.

Council clerk charged with tapping the tap

HADERA (Itim). — Police here are looking into a complaint that a municipal clerk used water for 22 years to care for his private garden, without paying. The complaint was made against the official during a recent session of the municipal council by Likud faction leader Yitzhak Frankel.

The man said the complaint was "political hot air," and he added that he welcomed the investigation.

Student leaders to discuss class boycott over fee hike

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Student leaders are to meet today at Tel Aviv University to discuss the possibility of boycotting classes in response to the Treasury's insistence on doubling tuition fees for the next academic year.

After several months of desultory negotiations between the students, the Treasury and officials of the Council for Higher Education, the students finally submitted their proposal last Friday. It was reportedly turned down by the Treasury.

The chairman of the National Union of Students, Yossi Sperling, said yesterday that the students proposed a tuition-fee increase of 25 per cent.

This would be matched, according to their proposal, by a government loan for half the tuition. The other half would come from a scholarship for those participating in the Perah tutoring programme in which students receive a fee reduction.

Sperling said that any attempt to impose a fee increase without securing student agreement would violate the Katsav Committee recommendations for setting fees which were adopted by all sides two years ago.

Meanwhile, the Technion called on the government to give special consideration to its students when determining higher tuition fees, since they have a particularly heavy study load, which makes it harder for them to work in outside jobs.

Begin rejects retroactive recognition

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Former prime minister Menachem Begin yesterday rejected an initiative to add his name retroactively to the signatories of the Declaration of Independence. He stated that the declaration is a historical document which must stand intact and which cannot be altered for any reason whatever.

The initiative came from Deputy Housing Minister Moshe Katzav, who suggested, in a letter to Prime Minister Shamir, that Begin's name should be added as a sign of gratitude by the nation for Begin's contribution to Israel's independence. According to Katzav, Begin was denied recognition because he had been in the underground and at ideological odds with the political establishment of the time.

Begin rejected the move yesterday as "unnecessary." He noted that Katzav had not consulted with him.

Man acquitted of 1982 Holon murder

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Ze'ev Gronski, 34, of Bat Yam, yesterday was acquitted of the 1982 murder of alleged drug dealer David Lavie and was ordered released from custody.

Tel Aviv District Court Judges Eliyahu Vinograd, Edna Shatzky and Avraham Meishar announced they would disclose the reasoning behind their verdict within a month.

Gronski, who continually protested his innocence, was accused of shooting Lavie four times with a pistol as the victim sat in his parked car in Holon in August 1982.

The chief witness against Gronski was Yona Salma, who said he accompanied him to the meeting.

Salma testified as a state's witness in exchange for being charged with the lesser crime of manslaughter, for which he is serving a seven-year sentence.

Another witness, Marco Cohen, had told the police that he drove Gronski and Salma to Holon the night of the murder, but he later retracted his statement during the trial, saying it had been extracted under pressure.

Suspect in attempted abduction freed on bail

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A man suspected of trying to force a woman out of a Herzliya shelter for battered women was arrested yesterday and appeared in magistrate's court here where he was ordered freed on IS100,000 bail and told to stay away from the shelter.

Police officers told the court that Yoram Agamivan, 27, of Bat Yam broke through the shelter's security fence, and attempted to enter the building to take out a woman who he claimed was held there against her will.

Police said that the woman fled from the suspect and hid in the residence. The other women began to scream and police arrived to arrest the suspect, who, police said, was heard shouting threats. (Itim)

Ministry weighing changes in 'bagrut' exams

The Ministry of Education is beginning preliminary discussions on possible changes in the bagrut (matriculation) exams, but they will not affect this year's test, a spokesman for the ministry said yesterday. He promised that any changes seriously considered by the ministry will be opened to public debate before being adopted.

One of the changes being considered is to lower the number of outside exams (tests not graded by the pupil's own school) and to limit them to a few compulsory subjects. This would help solve the chronic problem of long delays in getting test grades back to pupils.

The spokesman pointed out that 70 per cent of all Israel's 12th-graders take the matriculation exams, and of those who take the tests 70 per cent earn matriculation certificates. This is a high figure compared with other countries, he said.

Test to find children with reading problems

A reading-comprehension test will be given to the country's third-grade pupils next month to find children who need special help in reading.

At a meeting which Education Minister Zevulun Hammer held Wednesday with a ministry committee established to deal with the problem, it was announced that despite the budget cuts, money will be available for remedial-reading services in 140 schools where the number of children with reading problems exceeds the national average. Kindergartens feeding into these schools will also offer special reading-readiness programs.

Hammer said everything possible must be done to see that children learn to read in school, and not have to be taught basic literacy skills later by the army.

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This announcement is approved by The Jerusalem Rabbinate.

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Pick up a soldier

Iowa voters bored by presidential primary

DES MOINES, Iowa (Reuter). — Of all the ways to start the selection of U.S. presidential candidates, one of the oddest will unfold today in this Midwestern farming state where market-age hogs outnumber voters by nearly nine to one.

It is not just that Iowa is thinly populated and different in terms of jobs and race from the average American state.

It seems Iowa Democrats do not seem to care much that, after a year of being wooed by eight of their party's presidential contenders and months of media attention, they are about to cast the first trend-setting votes of the 1984 primary election race.

"Iowa is a passionless campaign," complains Herb Hedden, an aide to Ohio Senator John Glenn. Glenn has spent many days here trying to persuade voters he is more deserving of the Democratic nomination than front-runner Walter Mondale.

The last Iowa poll in January showed Mondale leading him by 49 to 20 per cent, with Senators Gary Hart and Alan Cranston and ex-senator George McGovern at six.

"We certainly don't have the passion that we had in 1980, when we had an incumbent president of our party (Jimmy Carter) being challenged by a Kennedy (Edward)," says Barry Piatt, spokesman for the state Democratic organization that is host for tonight's Iowa precinct caucuses.

"Then, the mood was 'you're either for us or against us.' Now, the Democrats have eight candidates to pick from. You can be for Mondale or Hart or Cranston and the rest understand."

The result is that some political professionals fear the voter turn-out may be very low — perhaps even fewer than the 45,000 that started the then-obscure Carter on his way to the Democratic nomination and the presidency in 1976.

One reason is that the issues that seem paramount here — the nuclear freeze, lagging farm prices, equality for women — offer few grounds for distinguishing one Democrat from another.

While such issues may cut against conservative President Reagan in the November 6 general election, he is unopposed today.

Thatchers relax in country as row over Oman deal builds

LONDON (AP). — Mark Thatcher took his Texas girlfriend to church with his parents yesterday as the opposition Labour party renewed demands Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher disclose his involvement in a $432 million construction contract in Oman.

Mark, 30, and Karen Fortson, 24, daughter of Fort Worth oil magnate Ben Fortson, along with Japan's Prince Hiro and other guests lunched on Saturday at Chequers, Mrs. Thatcher's official country retreat west of London.

The couple attended services with the prime minister and her husband, Denis, at tiny Saints Peter and Paul church in the nearby village of Ellesborough. Police with bomb-sniffing dogs combed the church an hour before the service.

Mrs. Thatcher's office, stressing that the couple were not getting any privileges, told reporters on Saturday that Mrs. Thatcher paid the estimated £50 (I$9,400) tab for the couple's four-course lunch from her own purse, not the taxpayer's.

Peter Shore, Labour's spokesman on trade, declared Saturday he was "totally dissatisfied" with Mrs. Thatcher's response to questions he pressed in the House of Commons last week about allegations her son exploited her position to clinch the Oman contract for a company he represented.

"I'm determined to get to the bottom of the whole story," Shore said after the prime minister refused to answer detailed questions he put to her in an acrimonious exchange of letters.

"It is intolerable that we should be left with facts that on the face of it are extremely worrying. If there are corrective facts, let us have them."

Mrs. Thatcher has already refused to discuss the increasingly thorny issue in the House despite demands by Labourites, insisting that her son's affairs are private.

Mark was quoted in the *Sunday Times* last week as saying he had been involved in securing the contract to build a university in Oman for Cementation International, a British company.

Mrs. Thatcher was reportedly angered by her son's *Times* interview, in which he acknowledged he met with his mother in Oman while she was visiting the oil-rich Gulf state to secure business for British firms and that he was paid for helping Cementation get the contract.

The *Observer* said yesterday that some of Mrs. Thatcher's close Conservative party advisers have urged her to make a statement on the Oman deal in a bid to silence the increasingly embarrassing allegations.

Polish Communists admit weaknesses in membership

WARSAW (AP). — The 199-member central committee of the Polish Communist Party ended a one-day meeting Saturday with acknowledgements that its position remains weak among workers and youth.

The meeting, the eighth since the December, 1981, martial-law declaration, was designed to lay the groundwork for a national conference March 16-18 aimed at invigorating the party, still badly weakened by the tumultuous 1980-81 Solidarity era and martial-law turmoil.

The main report, delivered by Tadeusz Porebski, one of 14 Politburo members, acknowledged that Solidarity — although outlawed — remains popular among workers, intellectuals and young people.

He urged party members to "arm themselves with basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism."

Such "intensified training," he said, is needed to "wage a firm struggle against constant aggressive propaganda by imperialist forces which exert their influence on the consciousness of some groups of society."

"Another extremely important task is the expansion of party ranks, especially among the working class and young citizens," said Porebski.

The party, officially known as the Polish United Workers Party, is only 40 per cent workers. And in Poland, where half the people are under 30, only 6 per cent of those party members who are workers are under 30.

U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, on a visit to Poland, yesterday condemned human rights abuses, including violations of trade union freedoms.

In his speech, published by the official Polish news agency Interpress, the secretary-general stopped short of naming countries. But the International Labour Organization, a Geneva-based U.N. body, has irritated the Polish government by investigating alleged abuses of trade union rights in Poland.

Fighting flares in Gulf war

BAHRAIN (Reuter). — Heavy fighting flared again on the central sector of the Gulf war front yesterday as Iran accused Iraq of breaking its pledge to suspend air and artillery attacks on its cities.

Both sides reported heavy fighting south of the Iranian border town of Mehran, where Iran launched a midnight offensive last Wednesday. There were conflicting claims of success yesterday.

Iran said its forces had beaten off six more counter-attacks and killed or wounded 1,500 more Iraqi troops, bringing the Iraqi casualty toll in the past four days of fighting to over 3,600. It also said they had shot down two Iraqi helicopters and destroyed 20 tanks as well as other military vehicles.

But an Iraqi military communique said Iraqi troops and helicopter gunships had taken a heavy toll of what it described as the remnants of the Iranian attack force. All the Iraqi helicopters returned safely to base, it said.

Iran's Ahvaz Radio, meanwhile, said the southern Iranian port of Abadan had been under heavy Iraqi artillery bombardment since Saturday night. The report threatened a breakdown of a short-lived halt to shelling of towns either side of the border, as the two sides prepared to receive a U.N. fact-finding mission.

Kidnappers free Italian industrialist

VATICAN CITY (AP). — A kidnapped Naples industrialist, for whom Pope John Paul II recently issued an appeal, was freed yesterday only hours before the Pontiff urged the release of an abducted 7-year-old girl.

Police said Carlo De Feo, 40, was released unharmed before dawn in the southern province of Reggio Calabria after nearly a year of captivity. "More than a month has passed since the kidnapping of the little Federica Isoardi ... which has thrown her parents and relatives into tormenting grief and concerned all citizens," the pope told several thousand people gathered at St. Peter's Square.

"Once again I send my grievous appeal to the kidnappers so that they will end this harsh penalty on the heart-broken parents and finally take pity on the little, innocent Federica," the pope said.

Federica, the daughter of a travel-organization owner in the northern city of Cuneo, was kidnapped January 12 by abductors posing as deliverymen.

Unfinished Haydn mass found in attic

LONDON (AP). — An incomplete mass written by the 18th-century Austrian composer Joseph Haydn and long believed lost has been discovered by a Northern Ireland farmer in the attic of his family home, the *Observer* reported yesterday.

The mass, *Missa Sunt Bona Mixta Malis* (The good is mixed with the bad), was written in 1768 and Haydn logged it in the record of his work that he kept.

As far as is known it was never performed and nothing has been known about what happened to it since 1829, when it was bought by Haydn's publisher, Artaria, in Vienna, the paper reported.

It said the 16-page manuscript will be auctioned by Christie's, the London art dealers, on March 28 along with other rarities found by the farmer, John McLintock, in his home in Ballycarry, County Antrim, in December.

These include a half-sheet of musical notes by Beethoven and letters written by Mendelssohn, Schumann, Liszt and Rossini.

Christie's have valued the Haydn manuscript at between £20,000 and £25,000.

Defector makes appeal to Chernenko

LONDON (AP). — Soviet defector Oleg Bitov appealed to new Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko yesterday to restore the policy of detente initiated by his late friend Leonid Brezhnev.

In a "Dear Konstantin Ustinovich" letter published in the *Sunday Telegraph*, the 51-year-old journalist said Chernenko could begin by allowing family reunions.

Bitov, formerly the foreign culture editor of the Soviet weekly *Literary Gazette*, was granted political asylum in Britain last October after he defected while covering the Venice International Film Festival. He said his wife, Liudmila, 38, who is in Moscow with their 15-year-old daughter Xenia, needs medical treatment in the West for a spinal injury.

"The split families all round the world are helpless and, as a rule, very miserable," Bitov wrote. "So give them a helping hand. Politically, this would be a minor gesture, but its impact would be tremendous."

Bitov recalled that Chernenko was Brezhnev's closest aide and friend before the Soviet leader died in November, 1982.

(A series of articles by Bitov have been appearing in the Weekend Magazine section of *The Jerusalem Post*. The third is to be published this Friday.)

Small Cypriot freighter goes down off Lebanon

LARNACA, Cyprus (AP). — A small 800-ton Cypriot flag freighter, the Tatiana, sank off Tripoli, Lebanon, during the night, it was reported here yesterday by Cypriot Coast Guard sources.

The sources said they had received a signal that the eight crewmen and three passengers aboard the Tatiana were picked up by a warship of the U.S. Sixth Fleet. The circumstances leading to the sinking were unknown to the sources.

QUAKE. — A strong earth tremor shook Salonika and other towns in northern Greece yesterday causing panic but no casualties or damage, police in Athens said.

26 feared dead in hijacked plane

ADDIS ABABA (AP). — A hijacker detonated a handgrenade aboard a military aircraft when its crew tried to land at Debre Zeit air force base south of here last Thursday, diplomatic sources said yesterday. The sources said that at least 26 people were killed.

The plane carried 38 people, including seven air force officers and women and children who were military dependents.

The sources said the hijacker, identified only as an air force lieutenant, brandished the grenade on a domestic flight and demanded to be flown to neighbouring Somalia.

The sources also said that when Ethiopian military authorities were alerted by cockpit radio, they ordered the pilot to head toward Debre Zeit, the country's main air base located 50 km. south of Addis Ababa. The flight's origin was not known.

The explosion occurred after the hijacker realized the plane would be landing at an Ethiopian airfield, the sources added. The hijacker was reported to have removed the pin from a grenade and dropped it when shot by a crew member, destroying part of the aircraft.

No other details were available.

Israel Lands Administration
Jerusalem District

Offer for Lease of 3 Industrial Plots in Ashkelon — Northern Industrial Zone
Tender No. JM/83/109

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a development contract for areas, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Municipal building plan	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Development costs (IS)*	Minimum prices (IS)	Deposit (IS)
10/120/03/4	14	2900	1,309,924	4,013,919	200,000
"	15	2800	1,399,856	3,875,508	200,000
"	16	2450	1,689,568	3,391,941	200,000

In accordance with Municipal Building plan, 40% total building percentage for two floors.
* Linked to December 1983 paving index, and to be paid separately to the Ashkelon Municipality in accordance with company's credit terms. (Prices do not include VAT).
Participation in tender for Ministry of Trade and Industry recommendees only.
Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Jerusalem district office, 34 Rehov Ben-Yehuda, during regular hours.
Deadline for submitting applications for Ministry of Trade and Industry references is March 20, 1984, and the deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on April 24, 1984.
Bids not in the tenders mailbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any other bids.

Israel Lands Administration
Southern District

Offer for Lease of Plot for Structure for Retail Trade in Neve Noy, Beersheba
Tender No. BS/83/110

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a development contract for the plot, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Block	Parcel portion	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total building % on one floor	Development costs (IS)*	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
38059	3	1	1000	40	2,683,318	2,582,813	125,000

* Linked to December 1983 building index, and to be paid separately to the Arim Company.
Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Beersheba district office, Rehov Ben-Zvi (above Yahalom halls), during regular working hours.
Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on March 18, 1984.
Bids not in the tenders mailbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any other bid.

Sports

Games end

SARAJEVO (AP). — America's Phil Mahre won the men's slalom yesterday on the final day of the XIV Olympic Winter Games here. His twin brother Steve took the silver medal.

The mighty Soviet hockey team reclaimed the gold medal it lost to the United States four years ago and gave its country the highest number of overall medals. But East Germany got the most gold medals — 9, compared to the Soviet 6.

The Soviets won their sixth Olympic hockey gold medal in winter Olympics history — the most by any country — with a 2-0 blanking of Czechoslovakia, which earned the silver. But the U.S. team was put out of contention by a bizarre ruling on professionalism.

Sweden's Gunde Svan earned his fourth medal of the games with a second-place in the 50-km. cross-country race, finishing behind team-mate Thomas Wassberg. Svan was one of three athletes, but the only male, to win four medals here — two golds and two silvers. Marja-Liisa Hamalainen of Finland was the only triple-gold winner with three first place finishes and one third place finish in cross-country. East German Karin Enke won two golds and two silvers in speed skating.

The medals may have gone to the champions, but competitors like Egyptian skier Jamil El Reedy almost stole the show at the Winter Olympics.

El Reedy, and other lone participants from Mexico to Monaco, never aspired to a place on the podium. But, faithful to the Olympic ideal that to compete is as important as to win, they enlivened and enriched for 12 days the most spectacular of winter sports festivals.

Only 18, Jamil El Reedy won the hearts of hardened fans by easy affability and infect[illegible] enthusiasm. Cairo-born and resident in the U[illegible], El Reedy could never hope to match the giants of the downhill.

So slow was he in practice that he was the only competitor kept out of the starting draw. Officials insisted he skied last in case he was overtaken on the way down the slope.

Halfway down the course he fell. But, unlike the regular downhillers, he scrambled to his feet and won his personal battle against the mountain, although he finished more than a minute behind the next slowest skier.

"If, by competing, I can help to promote Alpine skiing in Egypt I will be happy," he said.

A member of the Mongolian cross-country ski relay team was disqualified after traces of anabolic steroids were found in his bloodstream, officials said.

MEDALS
(gold, silver, bronze)

	G.	S.	B.	Tot.
USSR	6	10	9	25
East Germany	9	9	6	24
Finland	4	3	6	13
Norway	3	2	4	9
U.S.	4	4	0	8
Sweden	4	2	2	8
Czechoslovakia	0	2	4	6
Switzerland	2	2	1	5
Canada	2	1	1	4
West Germany	2	1	1	4
France	0	1	2	3
Italy	2	0	0	2
Liechtenstein	0	0	2	2
Britain	1	0	0	1
Japan	0	1	0	1
Yugoslavia	0	1	0	1
Austria	0	0	1	1

Squash seeds win

By JACK LEON

HERZLIYA. — Zimbabwe's Rob Shay, Paul Symonds of South Africa and Iranian Hossein Mahjoo, now coaching in England, all cruised past their local opponents by 3-0 margins when Israel's second annual professional squash championships started at the Herzliya Squash Centre yesterday. The three overseas guests — respectively seeded 5th, 6th and 7th in the men's open draw — came through at the expense of Charles Robin, Trevor Segal and Larry Reefe. Top seeds Ricki Hill and Glen Brumby from Australia, title-holder Peter Verrow of England and South Africa's Richard O'Connor make their bow today in the week-long tournament.

The lower seeds in the 64-draw all won their first-round matches, though No. 14 Avi Zerach had to come back from an 0-2 deficit to edge Martin Cooper 3-2 in their contest between the two Israelis.

There were victories for four of the five members of the Royal Air Force side from Cranwell, Steve Gascoyne, Dave Dunsmuir, Mike Thatcher and Peter Holland. By a quirk of the draw, Gascoyne came up against team-mate Garry Howes and triumphed in straight games.

Play resumes at 11 a.m. today, with the first round of the women's open. Admission is free. The meet is sponsored by Israel Squash Promotions, Dan Hotels Corporation and Burger Ranch.

Connors faces Noah

LA QUINTA, California (AP). — Top-seeded Jimmy Connors and second-seeded Yannick Noah both needed three sets to win their semi-final matches in the $225,000 Congoleum Classic Men's Tennis Tournament.

Connors struggled against fourth-seeded Joe Higueras of Spain, but regrouped at the end to winning a 6-7, 6-0, 7-6 marathon. The score of the third-set tie-breaker was 7-5.

Noah also had a difficult time against third-seeded Jimmy Arias before escaping with a 6-4, 4-6, 6-4 triumph.

NBA: Saturday

Phoenix 126, Houston 104; Indiana 118, Cleveland 93; Detroit 120, Dallas 115; Golden State 113, Washington 107; Los Angeles 120, San Diego 116; New Jersey 112, New York [illegible]

The Jerusalem Rubin Academy of Music and Dance

The Conservatory

announces

A Concert by the Students of the Conservatory and High School

featuring:
The Orchestra
Chamber Ensembles
Soloists
Percussion Ensembles

The concert will take place at the Khan Theatre
Tuesday, February 21 at 4.30 p.m.
Tickets: IS 200

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WEEKLY REVIEW

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Lost Illusions

A Government And a Policy Fall Victim to Inconsistency

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

BEIRUT, Lebanon

DURING the last two weeks of fighting in Lebanon the Reagan Administration has witnessed the almost complete collapse of all of its policy objectives for this country. Since the marines arrived in Beirut in September 1982, President Reagan has articulated three basic American goals — the removal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, the extension of the Government's authority throughout the country and the rebuilding of the Lebanese Army.

Instead, it is the American peacekeepers who are retiring to their ships in frustration; the American-sponsored troop withdrawal agreement of last May has been torn up; the territory under the control of the central Government has now shrunk to the fence around the Presidential palace and even that is no longer secure; and the army has collapsed along religious lines after two days of serious fighting with ragtag militiamen.

"The United States is lucky that Lebanon is not that strategically important," Ghassan Salameh, a top Lebanese international affairs expert, said. "If it had made the same miscalculations in dealing with a strategically important ally like Saudi Arabia or Pakistan that it did here, the destruction to American interests would have been enormous."

If the Lebanese had serious questions about the purposes and effectiveness of United States policy, so did other friendly nations in the Middle East as well as critics at home. Even Administration officials seemed to throw up their hands in frustration, leaving the initiative, for the moment, to others. After what appeared to be a withdrawal of American military support, President Amin Gemayel pushed an eight-point peace plan and the Saudis put themselves on a limb by acting as intermediaries with Syria, whose influence in Lebanon has steadily grown. The plan attempted to appease Damascus by scrapping the May agreement with Israel. But it would have put into effect a major provision of the agreement — simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces — and the Syrians rejected it. Yesterday, they were reported to have made proposals of their own. Israel looked to its own security interests by making it clear it was prepared to remain in southern Lebanon indefinitely.

In the view of Arab analysts, the developments that came to a climax last week had their roots in the Israeli invasion during the summer of 1982. At that time Washington gradually came to agree with the Israeli and Christian Phalangist line that what Lebanon needed was a "man on horseback," a tough disciplinarian to whip this country back into shape. The man on horseback was Beshir Gemayel; when Beshir was assassinated, his older brother Amin took the role.

However, as the events of the last two weeks have underscored once more, Lebanon cannot be ruled by the whip alone for any length of time. This country is made up of 16 different religious communities and twice as many political trends. It has always been ruled by compromise. Lebanon has worked as a country only when a carefully balanced consensus has been achieved between all these different interests.

President Gemayel's strategy of building up the central Government by building up its army might have been successful had he used the army equally against all illegal forces in the country. Instead, however, the army was involved in a series of battles with various Moslem militias, but never once with the equally illegal Phalangist militia founded by Mr. Gemayel's father, Pierre, in Christian East Beirut. Eventually Moslem allegiance to his Government and army began to melt.

It evidently took the United States a long time to realize the character of the Gemayel regime. The Americans tended to assume that because they were supporting the legal authority, it must be working fairly for the benefit of all the communities.

Underlying President Gemayel's approach all the time was a basic outlook that the Phalangists had defeated the Moslems during the Israeli invasion and were entitled to the spoils. At the same time the Reagan Administration perceived the multinational force as a policeman to preserve the peace between all the communities while the Government got back on its feet, the Gemayel regime increasingly saw the force and the American-trained Lebanese Army as a club to help it suppress its Moslem opponents. In the end the United States could not make up its mind what the force's role was.

The Administration seems surprised by the events of the past two weeks, even though Beirutis had been predicting it for some time. The American understanding of what was happening here appears not to have recovered from the April 18 embassy bombing and subsequent truck-bomb attack on the marines.

Syria Consolidates Gains, page 2

As a result of these suicide strikes American diplomats here began to live behind a massive barricade of concrete blocks and barbed wire, almost totally cut off from the rest of the city. The American diplomats never felt comfortable circulating freely in public, and after the crucial battle erupted here on the afternoon of Feb. 6, embassy officials stayed in their compound for two days before venturing out to assess the dramatic changes that had taken place around them.

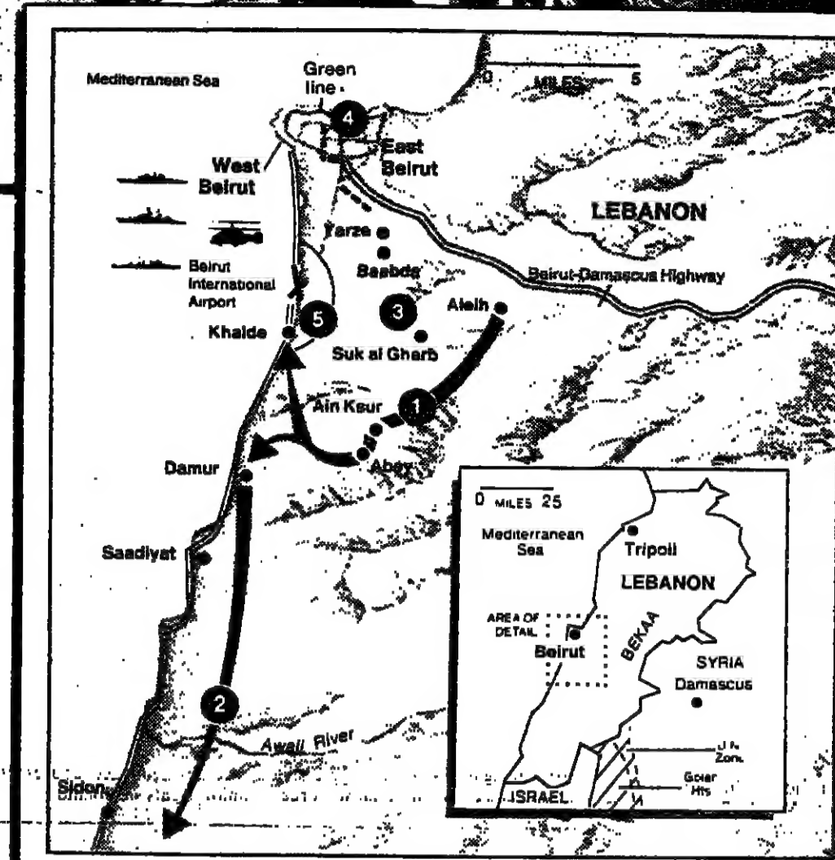
Even if American policy makers had had a perfect understanding of events here and knew just whom to support and whom to be tough with, they were always constrained by their instincts and education to fight fair — in a country where everyone else was playing by his own rules. The New Jersey was a mighty weapon but as far as the Syrian-backed militias were concerned it was nothing more than a big noisemaker.

"Reagan's dilemma," a Lebanese banker said, "was that he could never behave like a local power. To face a thug you need another thug, but instead he had a group of policemen trying to go by the rulebook." The marines once complained that Druse gunmen were firing antiaircraft weapons at them, which were outlawed by the Geneva conventions because their large caliber bullets not only killed but ripped a person to shreds. Not many Druse gunmen, however, carry copies of the Geneva conventions.

Perhaps the greatest American miscalculation was believing that Lebanon, after nine years of civil war, could be put back together again. The Syrians had already failed in this task and so had the Israelis, both for the same reason: The Lebanese themselves don't seem to acknowledge the seriousness of the problems they have and insist on blaming foreigners for the conflict here while seeking foreign help to solve it.

President Gemayel, for example, once described the Geneva reconciliation talks as a distraction from the real issue of foreign troops in Lebanon. There is a school of thought here that says the best thing the world could do for the Lebanese is to leave them to themselves. The various mediators in the last nine years have only encouraged one side or another to think that it had enough extra leverage not to compromise all the way. Perhaps the best lesson the United States could learn from its experience in Lebanon comes from the man who knows its history best, Kamal Salibi, the country's leading historian. "Great powers," he once observed, "should not get involved in the politics of small tribes."

Lebanese Army soldiers firing at snipers from a rooftop position in the port area of Beirut last week.



Shifting Forces In Lebanon

Key developments in Lebanon last week:

(1) Druse and Shiite militiamen regain mountain strongpoints above Beirut, despite sporadic shelling by American ships. They seize Khalde and Damur, opening line from sea to Damascus-Beirut highway and Syrian forces in Bekaa.

Thousands of Lebanese Army officers and soldiers desert, mainly to Moslem West Beirut.

(2) 15,000 Christian refugees flee to Israeli-occupied area south of Awali.

(3) Army loyalists hold Suk al Gharb redoubt and guard presidential palace at Baabda and Defense Ministry at Yarze.

(4) Right-wing Christian militiamen take positions on green line dividing Beirut.

(5) Druse and Shiite militiamen control all land approaches to airport. President Reagan orders most American marines at the airport transferred to ships offshore within 30 days.

United Press International

Chernenko's Words Encourage, but Actions Have Yet to Speak

Looking for a Message From Moscow

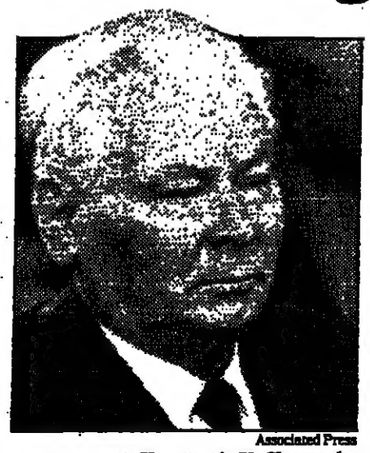
By HEDRICK SMITH

WASHINGTON

FOR President Reagan, who faces criticism that his moralistic attacks on the Soviet Union have been too harsh and his diplomacy too inflexible to curb the arms race, the change of leadership in the Kremlin is a political windfall. Any big change in Moscow kindles American optimism about the opportunities for improving relations. However, history and circumstance suggest that concrete gains will be hard to come by.

In a similar hopeful season 15 months ago, Washington was awash with speculation that Yuri V. Andropov was a "closet liberal" with whom the West could strike deals. Yet over the next year, President Reagan's exchange of polemics with Mr. Andropov hardened mutual distrust. Relations skidded to a low point with the stony confrontation over American missile deployments in Western Europe. Talk of summitry gave way to a Soviet walkout from the three major East-West arms talks.

Against this backdrop, the first pronouncements of the new Soviet leader, Konstantin U. Chernenko, had a reassuring ring. Immediately, he supported peaceful coexistence. "We need no military superiority," he asserted. "We are for a peaceful settlement of all disputable international problems through serious, equal and constructive talks." Vice President Bush emerged from a half-hour meeting with Mr. Chernenko, a longtime protégé of Leonid I. Brezhnev, to say they had agreed on the need "to place our relationship upon a more constructive path." Said the Vice President, "The mood was good, the spirit was excellent." Tass, the Soviet press agency, gave a more temperate account.



Associated Press

Konstantin U. Chernenko

In Washington, President Reagan, jolted by steady setbacks in Lebanon, found cause to applaud Mr. Chernenko's "tone and words." He praised the 72-year-old party leader for "making an effort to downplay rhetoric and explore ways to promote a more useful dialogue." Although Mr. Reagan rejected a "get-acquainted summit," he read possibilities of agreement into Mr. Chernenko's private comments that the two superpowers should work to see "that regional conflicts did not get out of control (and) that there should be safeguards against any inadvertent use of nuclear weapons." In sum, the President said, "we can do much together" if Moscow makes "a good faith effort."

Experienced specialists were considerably less hopeful about tangible progress on specific issues. "I would not predict a major significant warming," said a longtime intelligence official. "I expect some tactical flexibility, less shrill rhetoric or a return to the strategic arms talks later this year." A White House official added, "It's going to take time before we have any idea whether anything concrete is possible."

The atmospherics have improved. But scholars like Prof. Seweryn Bialer of Columbia University, who found deep mistrust of the President in Moscow in December, believe that is misleading. Mr. Reagan's denunciations of Moscow as an "evil empire," he said, have left the Kremlin extremely wary, doubtful about reaching agreements with him, and inclined to stand pat until after the American elections. "My instinct is that this line has not changed," Dr. Bialer said. "This was a line on which there was no disagreement. A Soviet leader who would propose deals now would be seen as weak by his colleagues." Others agree that the Kremlin does not want to help re-elect Mr. Reagan.

Yet some, like Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser under President Ford, reckon that if Mr. Chernenko follows the détente line, "you can argue that he may be more interested in negotiations than was Andropov." Other analysts add that Mr. Chernenko, as an advocate of internal economic reform and the expensive consumer food program of 1982, has seemed less enthusiastic about large rises in military spending than Mr. Andropov.

Committee Rule In the Kremlin

But the past may not foretell the future. Mr. Chernenko appears to be the chairman of a coalition, beholden to its various factions and limited in maneuverability. The Andropov faction that blocked his bid for leadership in 1982 remains powerfully represented. If his health does not fail, it could easily take a year or two to consolidate his power. "We've had committee government in Moscow for two or three years and we're going to have it for a while longer," said a State Department official. Symptomatic was Mr. Chernenko's straddle between advocating coexistence and bowing to the Soviet military. "We will see to it," he said, "that our country's defense capacity be strengthened, that we should have enough means to cool the hot heads of militarist adventurists."

Still, the Chernenko coalition may be more inclined to avoid confrontations and less adventurist in foreign affairs. Already, with American marines coming out of Lebanon, Moscow has dropped its opposition to a United Nations force in the Beirut area. One test of Kremlin intent will be how hard Moscow presses for removal of the American Sixth Fleet from the Lebanese coast.

Even before Mr. Andropov died, the Kremlin had decided to send negotiators back to the long-deadlocked talks on conventional forces at Vienna on March 16. At the 35-nation East-West conference in Stockholm, the Russians have talked vaguely about a nonaggression pact. Western powers put forward a six-point plan for confidence-building measures; they want to stop speechifying and start negotiating. A Soviet shift in either forum could signal new seriousness. On strategic nuclear arms, the French came home from Moscow last week predicting the Russians would be back talking to the Americans in a few months. Even so, a large gap remains.

Progress depends on the Reagan Administration, too. Were the President to drop his insistence on a well-prepared summit meeting with prior agreements and propose something more modest, that might intrigue Mr. Chernenko. Others have suggested he put forward a simplified, modest strategic arms reduction package between the Soviet and American positions as an interim agreement. On lesser issues like new consular or cultural agreements, the Administration could take initiatives.

Officials estimate that it will be late spring, if then, before the Chernenko coalition may be tempted to try serious bargaining. Mr. Chernenko needs time to solidify his power. Moreover, Moscow wants to assess President Reagan's chances for re-election. Unless he is a clear favorite, many officials think Moscow will wait out the campaign. "My prognosis is for more of the same," a top official said. "I don't think it's going to be dangerous. I don't think it's going to be a big yelling match. But it's going to be a period of not very much movement." *(Mr. Chernenko and his friends, page 2.)*

Progress toward a Namibia settlement?

3

The World

Iraq's Ugly War With Iran Gets Uglier

Iraq's war with Iran has caused hundreds of thousands of casualties but few big gains for either side since it began in September 1980. Last week, after days of warnings and counterwarnings, the Iraqis and the Iranians stepped up the pressure on each other to come to terms by attacking civilian populations. The suddenly increased tempo of the war once again raised fears in the West about a blockage of oil shipments through the Persian Gulf.

Dizful, an Iranian town near the Iraqi border, and Bandar Khomeini, an Iranian gulf port with an unfinished petrochemical complex, were the first targets of the new tactics put into effect last weekend with ground-to-ground missiles and air strikes.

The Iranians retaliated with attacks on Basra, Khanaqin, Mandali and Khurmal. Then Iran launched a big ground offensive for which it gathered perhaps as many as 500,000 men, according to intelligence sources in London; Teheran newspapers reported that thousands of "volunteers" had gone to the front to deliver "the final blow." Codenamed "Liberation of Jerusalem," the Iranian offensive against the heavily fortified center of the 713-mile border between the two countries appeared to run into strong resistance from the Iraqis, who had been expecting the attack and announced a counteroffensive. Casualties were believed heavy.

Shortly after the start of the Iranian offensive, Iraq stepped up its attacks on Iranian shipping in the gulf and claimed destruction of seven naval ships, two by mines. Iran repeated its threat to block the Strait of Hormuz at the gulf's southern end, which could cut off about 85 percent of oil supplies to the West from the Persian Gulf states. Teheran's warnings were particularly strong late last year when Iraq acquired Super-Etendard fighters and ultra-precise Exocet missiles from France but it is believed these weapons have not yet been used against Iran.

More Charges Against Salvador

The Reagan Administration is trying to keep the aid flowing to El Salvador but it is frequently hampered by reports of misconduct or failures by the beneficiaries. Last week, two confidential reports of legal and financial hanky-panky and a report of failures in the land reform program came to light just before the Administration asked Congress for a fourfold increase in military aid — to $243.5 million — for this year. The request was not tied to certified progress in human rights.

Evidence of trouble within the Administration over Central American policy was also seen in the resignation last week of Richard B. Stone as special envoy to Central America after reported disagreements with Langhorne Motley, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Mr. Stone was replaced by Harry Schlaudeman, who was executive director of Henry A. Kissinger's commission on Central America.

Former Federal Judge Harold E. Tyler told the State Department that within a day or two of the killing of four American churchwomen in December 1980, a cover-up to protect the killers began, "quite possibly" with the knowledge of Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova, who was then head of the National Guard and is now Defense Minister. Five guardsmen have been charged with the crime; after long delays, and much criticism in Congress, the Salvadoran courts have ruled they must stand trial.

A report prepared for the Salvadoran central bank and paid for by the United States Agency for International Development said there was no effective mechanism to prevent fraudulent diversion of American aid money to private accounts held by Salvadorans in other countries. Arthur Young & Company, a private consulting company, added that "either political influence or payoffs are necessary to obtain timely financing for imports." In 1983, $127 million was allocated for distribution by the central bank to Salvadoran businessmen to allow them the hard currency necessary to buy goods in the United States. The report tended to support suspicions that some businessmen were presenting inflated invoices and then depositing the difference in private accounts in the United States or Europe. Jay S. Morris, deputy administrator of A.I.D., said that to his knowledge no A.I.D. funds had been used in such transactions.

An audit of El Salvador's land reform program by A.I.D.'s Inspector General's office said that most farm cooperatives created under the program were not financially viable and that a third of those who applied to own land they had previously rented were not working their plots "because they had been threatened, evicted or had disappeared." These findings were also disputed by A.I.D.'s management.

Disturbed By Sikh Riots

India's delicate balance of religious and regional forces came under new pressure last week. Rioting erupted in the Sikh-dominated northern state of Punjab as leaders of Akali Dal, a Sikh political party, sat down with central Government officials in New Delhi for long-postponed discussions of Sikh demands for political and religious autonomy. Sikhs and Hindus battled with guns, swords, clubs and rocks. At least 19 people, including five policemen, were killed and 150 were injured. Protesting the violence and a curfew in Amritsar, their holy city, the Sikhs suspended the talks.

The rioting was triggered by a general strike called by right-wing Hindus protesting the arrest of a Hindu leader and contending that law-enforcement officials in the Punjab are biased against Hindus.

A terrorist reportedly killed five people with shots fired from inside the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the holiest Sikh shrine. Sikh leaders who are wanted by the police on criminal charges have been living in the temple; Indian authorities fear that entering to arrest them could bring on even more violence.

More than 200 people have died in clashes since the Sikhs launched their autonomy campaign 17 months ago. With about 2 percent of India's 700 million people, the Sikhs, who have a long tradition as fighters, have also recently been leaders of India's agricultural revolution.

Akali Dal won Punjab elections in 1977 but was defeated by Mrs. Gandhi's party in 1980. In opposition, the Sikh party called for removing central Government authority from the Punjab, except in defense, foreign relations, communications, railroads and currency. Mrs. Gandhi's Government rejected the demands, contending they could set precedents threatening India's unity.

Foe of Marcos Is Arrested

Salvador H. Laurel, a leading political opponent of Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos, was arrested at the Manila airport last week while trying to fly to the United States. The police said they had found a gold-plated pistol in his luggage. Yesterday, the charge of illegal possession of weapons was dismissed by a judge.

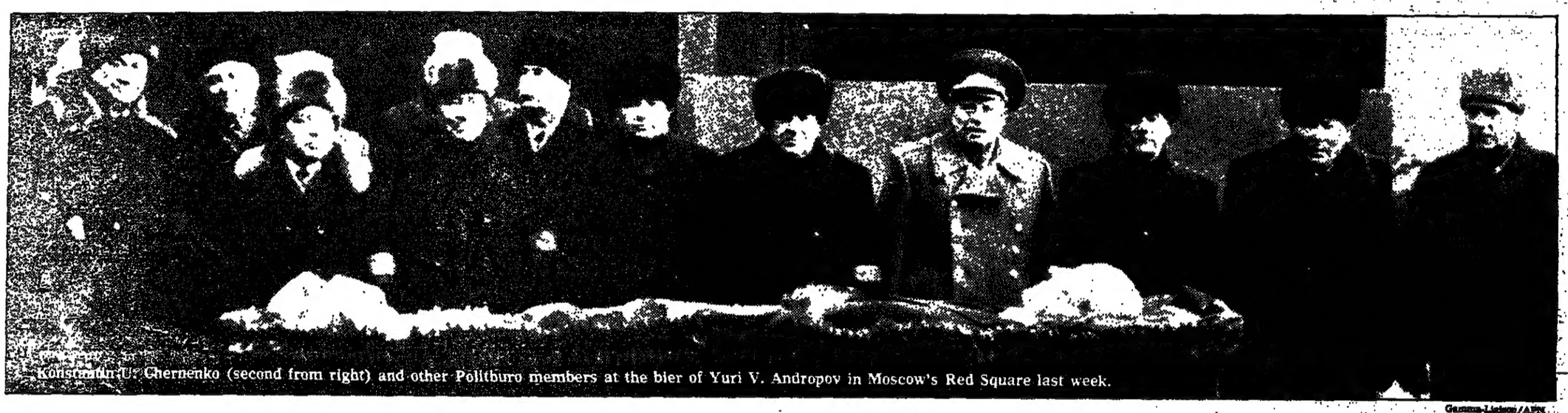
Mr. Laurel, a former Senator and a close ally of the assassinated opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino, was thus free to keep appointments with United States Representatives and Filipino groups opposed to the Marcos Government. He is also to speak at a rally in San Francisco commemorating Mr. Aquino, who was murdered last August at the same airport just as he was getting off a plane after three years of self-exile in the United States.

Mr. Laurel said that the gun had been planted in his luggage and the judge accepted his plea of not guilty. Hours before the incident, Mr. Laurel announced that the coalition of 12 opposition parties that he heads would field candidates in parliamentary elections in May.

Shortly before the court decision, Mr. Marcos had backed down by authorizing Mr. Laurel to leave while an investigation was carried out. But Mr. Laurel demanded the matter be cleared up immediately. He might have faced a maximum sentence of life in prison.

Milt Freudenheim, Henry Giniger and Katherine Roberts

With Chernenko's Ascension, Old Guard Reasserts Itself



Konstantin U. Chernenko (second from right) and other Politburo members at the bier of Yuri V. Andropov in Moscow's Red Square last week.

Gamma-Liaison/AFN

By JOHN F. BURNS

MOSCOW — At moments last week there were watchers who thought they saw a flicker of satisfaction cross the dour features of Konstantin U. Chernenko as he moved through the rituals of death and succession. At the rites for Leonid I. Brezhnev 15 months ago, Mr. Chernenko was a crushed figure, elbowed into the second rank of Politburo leaders beside the grave. As the loser in the contest that annointed Yuri V. Andropov, he was widely regarded as a has-been, with little to hope for in a new Kremlin hierarchy committed to ending the slackness and corruption that flourished under Mr. Brezhnev.

To Western specialists, the appointment of the 72-year-old Brezhnev aide seemed little short of astonishing. Among educated Russians there was less surprise. Outside party ranks, most have a profound skepticism about the capacity of the Soviet system to regenerate itself, even in the limited and disciplinarian fashion attempted by Mr. Andropov. To them, a reaction within the party was inevitable, and the only question was whether Mr. Andropov and his principal backers in the armed forces and the K.G.B. had the muscle to beat back a challenge from party conservatives.

If Mr. Andropov had stayed healthy, the coalition that placed him in the leadership in November 1982 might have been irresistible. But within three months of assuming power, his life depended on regular kidney dialysis, and no official lie could mask the fact that he was dying. His acolytes issued a parade of statements in his name. But the charade could not fool the party, at least not those in the crucial upper reaches of power.

After the funeral, one thing was clear. With a choice of several credible candidates in the Politburo, the leadership went to the member of the old guard most closely associated with Mr. Brezhnev. He was chosen despite his age and his apparent affliction with emphysema, and in the face of a career singularly devoid of accomplishment in anything but loyalty to the party and to Mr. Brezhnev. Nikita S. Khrushchev could claim a major role in World War II; Mr. Brezhnev had experience in agriculture and industry, and Mr. Andropov had proven abilities in the K.G.B. There was nothing in Mr. Chernenko's 52-year party career to suggest comparable intellectual or managerial talent.

Many analysts concluded that there had been a countercoup by party elements who felt threatened by Mr. Andropov's push for revitalization. Mr. Andropov was a practitioner of the most cautious kind of economic change, with initiatives that were largely limited to an experimental easing of some bureaucratic controls on industry and a heavy-handed "discipline" campaign. But thousands of officials were arrested for corruption and at least three well-known figures went before firing squads. More than 40 of the 150 regional party secretaries were fired; thousands in the upper levels of government were demoted or transferred.

The resentment was all the greater for the manner in which Mr. Andropov was appointed. Stories around Moscow suggested that Mr. Chernenko was outmaneuvered. K.G.B. bodyguards assigned to Politburo members are said to have kept the Andropov forces abreast of every movement by Chernenko supporters, and planes carrying Central Commitee members are said to have been delayed in their arrival beyond hope of heading off the Andropov nomination. The building where the meeting was held was ringed tightly by K.G.B and army troops.

This time the meeting was held amid noticeably lower levels of security, and even ambassadors flew home to attend. To some this looked like confirmation of an effort to reassert the primacy of the party and the principal that the Central Committee, not the Politburo, has the ultimate power of appointment. The Central Committee, elected at a Party Congress in 1981, remains firmly rooted in the Brezhnev era.

The Generational Divide

Beyond this, much is conjecture. The lineup at Mr. Andropov's bier gave prominence to Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the 52-year-old Politburo member said by many to have been Mr. Andropov's choice as his successor. Mr. Gorbachev's speech appealing for closed ranks behind Mr. Chernenko was first suppressed, then released with other documents. This suggested that Mr. Gorbachev was the losing candidate or the leader of a pivotal faction. The suggestion of a delicate balance in the new leadership was compounded by the generational divide in the lineup before the bier — Mr. Gorbachev and Grigori V. Romanov, who is 61, to Mr. Chernenko's right, and the old guard of Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov, Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov, Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and Moscow party boss Viktor V. Grishin to the left.

Many diplomats interpreted this as a sign that Mr. Chernenko's strength had been augmented by support of his older colleagues whose positions could have been threatened by a younger leader like Mr. Gorbachev. By the same measure, the younger group could have prevailed only by coalescing around a candidate of their own. This never seemed likely, given the competing characters and attitudes of men like Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Romanov and Geidar A. Aliyev, the 60-year-old First Deputy Prime Minister. For them, the selection of Mr. Chernenko may have represented a lesser evil than giving the job to a rival who could hold it for 20 years.

What the outcome presages for policy is even harder to pin down. Mr. Chernenko began by offering a general endorsement of Mr. Andropov's drive for greater economic discipline and for a lighter party hand on the shoulders of economic managers. One view was that he did so as part of the compromise that won him the leadership. Another was that support for his predecessor's policies was less significant than the fact that he avoided committing himself to any of Mr. Andropov's specific measures.

Some diplomats see trouble ahead in a leadership that straddles generational and political divisions. Others caution against underestimating Mr. Chernenko, who impressed several Western leaders who met him after the funeral as a warmer, earthier man than Mr. Andropov, seemingly comfortable in his new role. Like Deng Xiaoping, who capped an even more remarkable comeback in China by launching radical reforms, Mr. Chernenko could still prove to be an old man in a hurry. If so, he will confound not only his critics but still more so those in the bureaucracy who look to him for a return to the less challenging times under Mr. Brezhnev.

Syria Achieved a Major Goal Last Week When Gemayel Agreed to Cancel Pact With Israel

Assad's Chance to Consolidate His Winnings

By JUDITH MILLER

DAMASCUS, Syria — President Hafez el-Assad of Syria is on the verge of achieving most of his goals for Lebanon. In less than two weeks, he has watched Lebanese President Amin Gemayel lose half his Cabinet, half his army and half his capital to Syria's Lebanese allies.

The American Marines and most other members of the multinational peacekeeping forces in Lebanon are on their way out, fulfilling another Syrian demand. And last week, Mr. Gemayel said he would accept as part of a short-lived eight-point political proposal Syria's most pressing goal, cancellation of Lebanon's May 17 pact with Israel. Syria has attacked the American-sponsored agreement as "Camp Shultz," alluding to Secretary of State George P. Shultz and to the 1979 Camp David peace accords between Egypt and Israel, which President Assad had tried unsuccessfully to block.

According to many non-American diplomats in Damascus, the Reagan Administration underestimated Syrian resolve to block the May 17 agreement and overestimated its own ability to keep American peacekeeping forces in a country without peace. Many Arab and Western analysts add that the Administration erred when it portrayed Syria as a Soviet puppet, noting that on several occasions Mr. Assad has irritated his Soviet allies and rejected their dictates. Washington's perception of Syria produced what one Arab analyst called "a self-induced nightmare," leaving Damascus with few alternatives to Moscow. Partly as a consequence, Soviet influence and prestige have indeed grown.

Syrian senior officials said last week that Damascus wants to maintain a dialogue with the United States. Mohammed Haider, a foreign affairs spokesman for the ruling Baath Party, said that if the Reagan Administration would withdraw what Syrians call its "support for Israeli aggression" and stop trying to negotiate separate peace agreements that ignore Palestinian aspirations and Syria's hopes for the return of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, Damascus would be willing to meet Washington "more than half way." Americans reply that Syria has not been ignored. Donald Rumsfeld, President Reagan's special Middle East envoy, visited Damascus twice in January, although with little success. But some Westerners say two visits can only be a start. "Henry Kissinger made more than 33 trips to Damascus when he was negotiating the Israeli-Syrian disengagement agreement on the Golan Heights in 1974," a Western official said. "All of the Reagan Administration's Middle East negotiators combined have not made that many trips here."

Syria has been adamant as to what it does not want in Lebanon. There is far more debate about what Syria wants. Farouk al-Sharaa, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, summarized Syrian goals as follows: a united, sovereign and independent Lebanon, true to its "Arab identity"; departure of all foreign forces, and a more equitable distribution of power among Lebanon's political and religious factions.

The Syrian formula can be read in several ways. Some analysts believe it means the Syrians do not in fact want Lebanon to be partitioned, as some have alleged. As for the estimated 50,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon, analysts argue that Syria will keep most of them there only until the Israelis withdraw, which they are confident will happen. Yesterday, the Syrians formally rejected the eight-point Lebanese peace plan as a "trick" unworthy of study. They attacked its provision for simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces. Damascus has long argued that the two forces are not comparable. Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982. Syria was invited in under Arab League auspices in 1976.

The New York Times/Ingeborg Lippman

Shiite sheik and Druze fighter in front of Lebanese Army tank destroyed in fighting in Doha, Lebanon, last week.

Syrian officials have told American legislators that Damascus is ready to acknowledge implicitly Israel's security concerns in southern Lebanon. But Syria refuses to accept a separate Lebanese peace with Israel. Many analysts think Syria would prefer a Lebanon that was Syrian-influenced, not Syrian-occupied. Syria, they recall, used to exercise influence by balancing Lebanese religious and political factions against one another. Floating alliances and interchangeable allies appear to be a constant of Syrian diplomacy. Some of President Assad's tactics appear to be rooted in fear. Damascus fears an Israeli invasion of Syria through a Lebanese corridor. It fears a Lebanon that is out of the Arab fold and under direct Israeli and American influence. It fears encirclement by "moderate" Arab governments willing to cut a separate deal with Israel at Syria's expense. Most of all, Damascus fears a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict from which it would be excluded.

President Assad has repeatedly demonstrated his determination to achieve his goals, often using ruthless tactics. In February 1982, his special forces destroyed much of the Syrian town of Hama to put down a Moslem fundamentalist uprising. Several thousand people were killed, and thousands more were wounded. American officials believe last year's suicide-bombing attacks on the American Embassy and the marine headquarters in Beirut were launched from territory under tight Syrian control. Analysts in Damascus believe Mr. Assad will pursue his foreign policy goals with comparable ruthlessness.

Combatants Agreed Last Week on a Commission to Monitor the Cease-Fire

Fragile Truce Over Namibia Could Grow to Wider Peace

By ANTHONY LEWIS

WASHINGTON — One of the longest-running American diplomatic efforts, and one of the most tantalizing, has been the attempt to end South African control of the vast territory of South-West Africa, or Namibia. Nearly six years ago a formula to bring Namibia to independence seemed about to work, but success slipped away. Now diplomacy is in an active new phase and hopes are rising. Last week, ranking South African, Angolan and United States officials met in Lusaka, Zambia, and agreed to set up a commission to monitor a trial cease-fire. South Africa said Americans might be asked to help, but Angola's official press agency said they would be unacceptable because Washington was not neutral.

"We don't have a deal on Namibia," an American involved in the negotiations said, cautioning against over-optimism. But he added, "We do have a first step that could produce the climate for a deal."

The first step was a "disengagement" in southern Angola. South Africa proposed this euphemism for withdrawal of the forces it has deployed there for several years, on the condition that Angola agreed to prevent guerrilla raids from its territory. Angola agreed. The disengagement started on Jan. 31, and what amounts to a fragile cease-fire is reportedly holding.

Hopes are guarded because Namibia is a tangle of conflicting interests. Larger than Texas but with only about one million inhabitants, it has been held by South Africa since World War I. Its leading independence movement, Swapo, the South-West Africa People's Organization, has been fighting a low-level guerrilla war with support from neighboring Angola's left-wing Government. That Government is beset by a rebel group, Unita, which with South African help has had increasing military success. The Soviet Union supplies weapons to the Angolan Government and Cuba has provided 25,000 soldiers.

During the Carter Administration, a Western group including the United States made progress toward a Namibia solution under United Nations Resolution 435. It called for a United Nations force to replace South African troops and the election of a constituent assembly. South Africa seemed to agree but blocked implementation of the plan.

President Reagan's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester A. Crocker, has been trying for three years to make withdrawal from Namibia more palatable to Pretoria, chiefly by proposing that Cuban troops leave Angola at the same time. More broadly, he tried to put United States-South African relations on a friendlier basis. But Pretoria took a tough line, occupying slices of Angola and harassing Mozambique, across the continent, with raids and support of anti-Government guerrillas. Critics saw a general South African campaign to destabilize black-ruled neighbors.

Given this background, what accounts for the new, albeit careful, optimism? People on all sides of the dispute agree there is a changed mood. They see several explanations.

• The South African Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, is now strongly committed to a settlement. In Parliament Jan. 31, he spoke of the heavy cost of defending and subsidizing Namibia — about $1 billion a year. He said Namibia's political groups, apart from Swapo, those preferred by South Africa, were also pressing for independence.

Many have doubted that South Africa genuinely intended to get out of Namibia. If Mr. Botha has now made the decision, one reason may be war-weariness; the Afrikaans press has been noting casualties with regret. And Mr. Botha's ability to move is more secure after his victory over the Afrikaner far right in a referendum last fall.

• Pretoria is offering to ease military pressures on neighbors who will undertake not to harbor anti-South African guerrillas. The offer is bearing fruit in Mozambique, which is discussing agreements on mutual security and trade with South Africa.

The regional implications are significant. One interpretation is that Pretoria's raids and support for guerrillas made Mozambique give in to the hated white regime. Another view is that American diplomacy offered Mozambique a realistic alternative to more fighting and economic hardship, and perhaps to inviting in Cuban troops. In any event, Mozambique President Samora Machel, a man of influence in the region, has given his blessing to limited cooperation with South Africa.

• The Angolan Government seems readier for a settlement. In the past, it has often taken a long time to respond, and then ambiguously, to diplomatic initiatives. But lately it has acted with self-confident decisiveness, perhaps indicating internal consensus. Angola is in economic chaos. Its one substantial source of hard currency, oil revenue, is mostly going — in dollars — for Soviet weapons and Cuban soldiers. Its friends in the region are moving toward a modus vivendi with South Africa.

At Lusaka, South African Foreign Minister R.F. Botha, the Angolan Interior Minister, Alexandre Rodrigues, and Mr. Crocker discussed arrangements to extend the disengagement of forces. They left till later the next and crucial question: Cuban troop withdrawal. But how can Angola agree to their withdrawal when it is being harassed by Unita and its charismatic leader, Jonas Savimbi? There are some possible answers.

Once the independence process for Namibia began under Resolution 435, the United Nations force on the border would make South African incursions into Angola less likely and Mr. Savimbi would have reduced access to South African supplies. The Angolan struggle would be placed on a more internal basis.

All the negotiators at Lusaka say the conflict between the Angolan Government and the Savimbi forces is not their concern. But some specialists doubt a settlement is possible without an internal Angolan deal. Given the personal and ideological animosities, that is hard to imagine; but lately some nearby African leaders have come to believe there could be a compromise, with elements of Unita joining the Government.

The proposal to Angola, moreover, is for the Cubans to leave gradually, in parallel to the departure of South Africa's forces from Namibia. An Angolan commitment on Cuban withdrawal would start the process. South Africa's Ambassador in Washington, Brand Fourie, said, "Once *agreement* has been reached on withdrawal of the Cubans, we'll start implementation" of the United Nations resolution.

Many experts remain skeptical about the prospects for peace in southern Africa. The fundamental reality in South Africa — the insistence of the white minority on excluding the black majority from all political power — remains a basic source of tension and instability. But independence for Namibia could be a great influence for realistic change in the region.

Legal Change Last Week

Argentina's Goal Now Is To Punish the Underlings

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

BUENOS AIRES — A soul-searching legal issue that troubled the Allies after World War II, the French after the Algerian War, and the Americans after the My Lai massacre in Vietnam is now deeply dividing Argentines. To what extent are military men responsible for atrocities committed while following orders?

The issue here applies to the thousands of assassinations and cases of torture carried out by the Argentine military in a 1970's antisubversion campaign.

President Raúl Alfonsín, whose elected Government succeeded the military in power two months ago, fulfilled a bold campaign pledge last week when he signed a bill that holds responsible the military leaders who ordered the abuses and those who went beyond orders in meting out cruelty. But as he also pledged, the bill protects most servicemen who followed orders, a provision protested by human rights groups and opposition political parties.

Woodfin Camp / Enrique Shore

Grave of person believed killed during 1970's antisubversion campaign, uncovered near Buenos Aires last month.

"Armed men from the intelligence services knocked on the door of a pregnant woman in my neighborhood, and when she answered they shot and killed her in cold blood," Hebe de Bonafini, president of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, a group of relatives of the disappeared that is particularly militant, said. "The man who pulled the trigger is guilty, too, isn't he?"

Mr. Alfonsín has begun courts-martial against nine former junta members and a police chief, and private suits have been filed against dozens of other officers for atrocities in specific cases. But many of the defendants, while denying any crimes, already are pleading that they acted as soldiers under orders. Retired Gen. Ramón Camps, widely accused of being a particularly bloody police chief in Buenos Aires, used this argument recently before a federal judge.

A law long on the books held that the commander who ordered a crime is the only one responsible. A subordinate could be held equally culpable only if he committed excesses. Judges have interpreted the law in widely varying ways. The bill just signed as an amendment to the old law is designed, according to its authors, to insure they interpret it punitively. Before it was amended, the law took into account the necessity for military discipline, which made it difficult for a subordinate to question an order. The changes would now hold the subordinate liable if he clearly knew the order was illegitimate, as in the case of repeated torture or execution. Members of the juntas who set policy would have no excuse at all.

The law as modified follows international precedent, Mr. Nino said. The first Nuremberg trial of Nazi German leaders resulted in only 19 convictions, of which 12 were death sentences. Later trials of Nazi and Japanese leaders resulted in more convictions, but almost all the rulings followed the criterion of whether a subordinate knowingly committed a crime, Telford Taylor, an American chief counsel at Nuremberg, has written. As in trials in West Germany today of former Nazis, sentences also have been generally lighter for subordinates afraid to disobey an order.

American courts judging atrocities in Vietnam have been among the most lenient. In the case of the more than 100 Vietnamese massacred in 1968 in My Lai, 25 American officers and enlisted men were charged with related offenses, but only one, Lt. William J. Calley Jr., was convicted. He was paroled after serving just three years.

Argentine officials privately acknowledge that their prosecution plan is partly political. Widespread trials could set off a confrontation with the powerful military, which until now has accepted punishing former leaders to cleanse the military's image. Moreover, the officials said, a deep purge could badly weaken the armed forces. Demonstrating an evenhanded approach, the Government asked Brazil last week to arrest and extradite the leader of the guerrilla Montonero movement in the 1970's, Mario Eduardo Firmenich

Some defenders of the military may also have struck a chord of guilt among ordinary Argentines about national complicity. In the 1970's the public and political leaders overwhelmingly demanded that the military take forceful means to fight an unconventional enemy that had murdered and kidnapped hundreds of Argentines. The country, in near chaos, lacked special laws or policemen while judges were cowed by the terrorists.

Today, Argentines often say that because of censorship they were unaware of the extent of the atrocities. The explanation seems partly ingenuous. The deaths, disappearances and torture were pervasive. Repeated revelations and condemnations from abroad were often reported here. Some Argentines admit that because of fear they chose not to know what was happening. There was little debate then, nor is there much now, about how to fight subversion legally.

In a rare mea culpa, retired Rear Adm. Horacio Zaratiegui said in a published interview that, given the tenor of those times, it is senior officers like himself who should be punished for letting the military's counter-terror get out of hand. "We should have foreseen the consequences should conduct become deformed," he said. "However, none of us thought of it then. We were convinced there was no other way."

Thatcher and Kohl Set the Pace in Trimming Benefits

Europe, Too, Feels the Social Program Pinch

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

BONN — Hard times in Western Europe have obliged both poor and relatively prosperous countries to make fresh cuts in welfare systems that are widely perceived as the bedrock of Western Europe's postwar political and social stability. But although regularly described as in a state of crisis, the welfare state has not been dismantled, only pruned.

The surprising thing is that retrenchment did not come sooner. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which monitors the health of the major industrial nations, reports that between 1960 and 1981 social expenditures in the principal Western European economies leaped from 14.5 to 26.3 percent of their total output of goods and services. (In the United States over the same period, the rise was from 11 to 21 percent.) In Western Europe, huge pension increases led the way, accounting for about 40 percent of social outlays; health care, educational benefits and unemployment payments were the next biggest items.

The oil price hikes of the 1970's were translated into the first cuts in health and education benefits, which had exploded in the previous decade. But the persistence into the 1980's of low growth and high unemployment — compounded by the drag of aging populations — has put budget-cutters back to work. Conservative Governments in Britain and West Germany have set the pace with surprisingly little opposition from the trade unions, which have been weakened by the high jobless rate.

Budgets Depend on Recovery

In its budget-cutting measures, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's center-right coalition has risked offending German university students, pensioners and expectant mothers. Generous university grants for low-income students must now be repaid; time-off benefits for new mothers have been cut from $268 monthly to $182, and pensioners must now make a 5 percent contribution to what had been free medical insurance. Indexation changes have brought pensions down some 5 to 6 percent in real income compared to 1979. Unemployment benefits have been cut for workers without children, too — from 68 to 63 percent of total salary in the first year, and from 58 to 56 percent in subsequent years. Heinrich Franke, a state secretary in the Labor Ministry, predicted confidently that "there will be no more cuts."

Other Christian Democratic strategists concede that if a tentative economic recovery does not gather steam, pressure will build from the party's right wing for drastic welfare slashes. That might turn a prevailing mood of resignation to wrath.

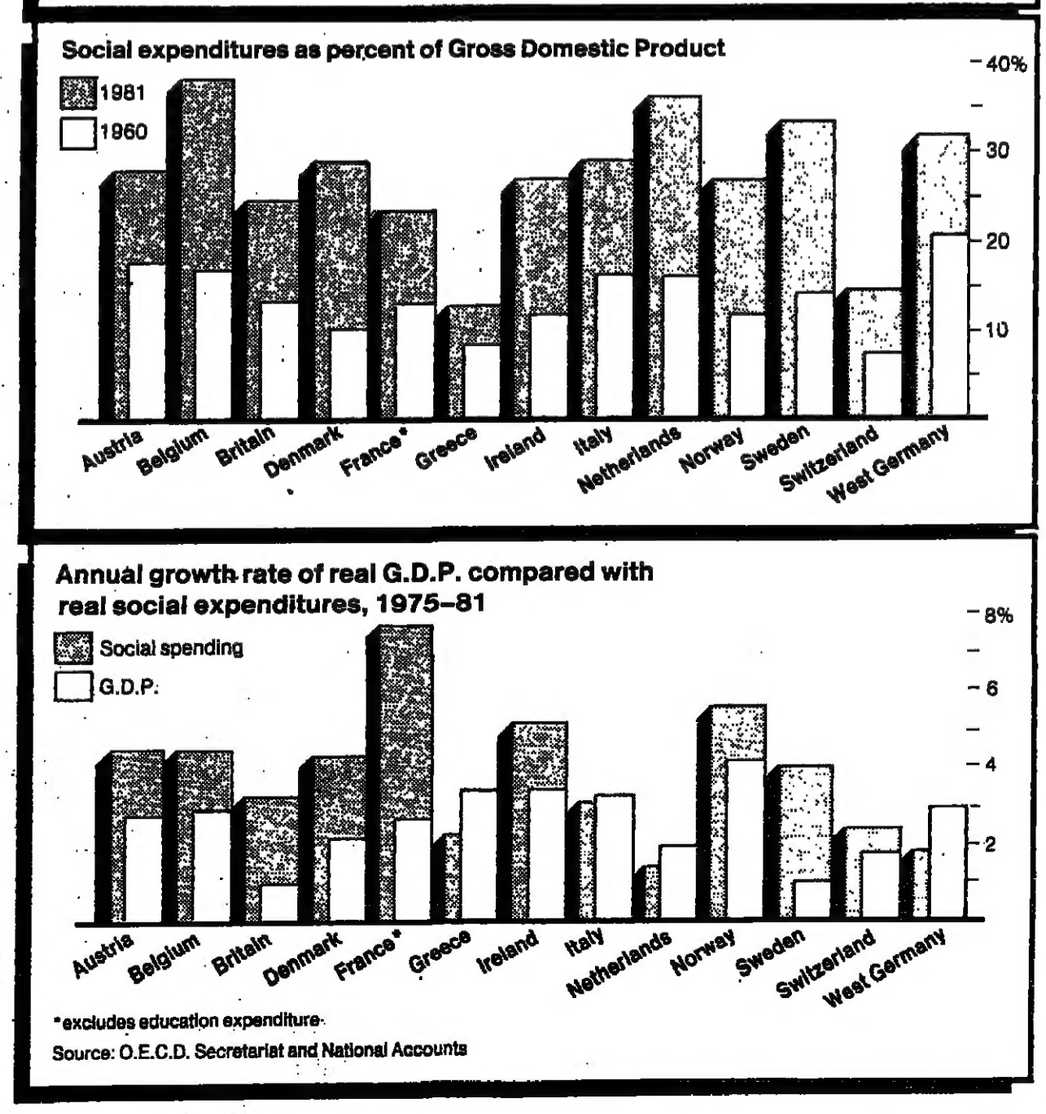
What the changes can mean in personal terms was outlined by Heike Schneider, a 23-year-old sociology student, who last October became legally obliged to pay back the $192 monthly Government stipend that enables her to attend Bonn University. "At first there were anger and demonstrations," she said, "but then the peace movement came along and the issue was blown away. Now there is a fear that a lot of women will have to give up their university studies, because families will want to help their sons first."

In Britain, a stunning election victory in June, has enabled Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to resume her campaign to streamline the bloated civil service by eliminating 630,000 jobs, or 14 percent of the total. A drive has also been launched to cut 5,000 jobs from the nationalized health service. The brunt of the health spending cuts has fallen on the elderly, the handicapped and the mentally ill, arousing some resistance from medical personnel. Other Thatcher targets are high-spending local authorities in urban and poor areas whose funds must be matched by the national government. Housing benefits and free hot school meals, except for the poorest, are also being trimmed.

The opposition Labor Party, after its electoral debacle, has muted its criticism of Mrs. Thatcher's piecemeal assault on the British welfare state. And elsewhere in Europe politicians have found electorates responsive to the need for some sacrifices. Danish Prime Minister Poul Schlüter called an election in December after Parliament turned back an austerity budget. Last month, Mr. Schlüter ratified his popularity with the voters, and this month squeaked through to a majority when the last votes by mail were counted. In the Netherlands, Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers's center-right coalition was able to withstand sporadic strikes and slowdowns last fall by public sector workers protesting wage reductions.

The Socialist-led Governments of France, Italy and Spain have been less rigorous. President François Mitterrand initially thought that a policy of reflation would create jobs and avoid welfare cutbacks, but since last March his Government has been forced into an austerity program that has meant new private contributions to social security and restrictions on unemployment benefits. The budget for the costly state hospital system has been diminished and daily patient fees have been introduced. In Spain, Prime Minister Felipe González learned from the early extravagances of the Socialist experiment in France and has since proposed increased social security contributions by workers and a startling drop in retirement pensions from 90 to 65 percent of salary.

The pace of social spending in Europe



The Nation

New Questions On Meese's Campaign Roles

When Edwin Meese 3d was nominated by President Reagan to be Attorney General, the Presidential counselor's role as a political campaigner and his involvement in political activities in the years before Mr. Reagan's election as President were expected to be hot issues during Senate confirmation hearings. A report last week on the status of a five-year Federal Election Commission investigation into charges of election-law violations by Mr. Reagan's 1980 campaign committee and a Reagan political action committee may make them hotter still.

The charges are that the committee made illegal contributions to the campaign. The political action committee, Citizens for the Republic, was founded in 1977 by Mr. Reagan and his closest aides, including Mr. Meese, using about $1 million left over from Mr. Reagan's 1976 Presidential campaign. Mr. Meese was the 1980 campaign committee's chief of staff. In 1980, Federal court records in Los Angeles show, Mr. Meese had a central role in the political action committee's failure to answer an F.E.C. subpoena for records pertinent to the investigation.

Edwin Meese 3d

According to Ronald E. Robertson, an attorney who has represented both Reagan groups, the failure was the unfortunate result of a series of misunderstandings at a time when Mr. Meese was busy handling the campaign. Last week, both the campaign and the political action committee proposed to settle by paying civil penalties. The F.E.C. has not yet acted on the proposal.

A Less Wild Blue Yonder

It might or might not be much solace for the sweaty-palmed fliers of the land, but the Reagan Administration has decided that making do with fewer and fewer airline inspectors is a risky way to save money. Last week, Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Hanford Dole said 166 new inspectors would be signed on. In addition, Mrs. Dole said the Government would step up its random "white glove" spot checks. These, she said, would involve looking "into every nook and cranny of airline operations and pilot performance to see that carriers are doing what they're supposed to do."

Under reductions ordered by the Administration and widely criticized in Congress, the number of inspectors on the Federal Aviation Administration payroll dropped from 638 in 1981 to 534 last year. The Government notes that not a single big passenger jet went down in the United States in 1983. But several smaller craft did — 10 died in October in the crash of an Air Illinois turboprop. In May, an Eastern Airlines jumbo jet very nearly crashed into the ocean off Florida when all three engines lost power. A subsequent investigation found defective oil seals.

Little Relief On the Deficit

Once again last week, economic news that brought some bounce to politicians' steps gave Wall Street the jitters.

Friday's report on growth in the the last three months of 1983 — a 4.9 percent rate, rather than the earlier estimate of 4.5 percent — was a cap to a robust series. Last month, new housing starts hit the highest level in five years; factory output pushed to its highest rate in more than two years, and personal income rose a sharp 1.1 percent. Should the trend continue, and many economists last week said they thought it would, Government revenues for the year could be a little higher than recently forecast, and the Federal deficit, projected by the Administration at $180.4 billion for the fiscal year that begins Oct. 1, a little lower.

Not, however, low enough to make anyone comfortable with taking no more steps at deficit reduction. Bipartisan talks on the hundred-billion-dollar "down payment" President Reagan proposed a month ago are already stalled. Mr. Reagan last week moved them closer to deadlock by characterizing as "wild" Democratic proposals to up the $100 billion to $200 billion by stretching out Pentagon increases out over six years instead of five, and the Democratic budget negotiators "a little like" hard-line Soviet arms negotiators.

The financial markets reacted to the week's numbers, not the politics. The fear was that "the strong economic course for 1984," that White House spokesman Larry Speakes heralded might be too strong for the Federal Reserve, prompting it to tighten credit to tamp down inflation. Interest rates rose; the stock market produced the lowest close since April 12, 1983.

Steel Merger Turned Down

Some contend that the Reagan Administration is too permissive about corporate mergers. But last week two of the country's biggest steel makers got a thumbs-down.

Assistant Attorney General J. Paul McGrath, in his first big ruling since taking over the Justice Department's antitrust division, said the Government would sue, if it had to, to block a proposed merger of the LTV and Republic Steel Corporations. "The American steel industry is in a state of crisis," Mr. McGrath conceded. But he said the merger, which create the nation's second-biggest steel producer, would result in reduced domestic competition and perhaps sharply higher prices. Further, he said, despite the alarms raised about cut-rate imports, domestic steel producers have been shielded to a degree by import quotas and, in the case of Japanese producers, self-imposed restraint. Analysts said a proposed merger between United States Steel and National Steel now looks decidedly iffy.

There was a decidedly different ruling in an industry is generally considered less vulnerable to the effects of concentration because its companies compete at several levels of production and distribution. The Federal Trade Commission, by a 4 to 1 vote, gave Texaco Incorporated a conditional go-ahead to buy the Getty Oil Company. The approval of what will be the largest corporate merger in United States history doesn't become final for 60 days.

State-of-the-Art Counterspying

The United States Customs Service, not known for a heavy reliance on the visual aids, last week demonstrated its proficiency at moviemaking. As the result of a longterm undercover operation called Exodus, five people were arraigned in Federal District Court in Newark on charges of conspiring to smuggle to China more than $1 billion worth of classified missile-guidance, radar-jamming and electronic-surveillance gear.

Central to the Government's case are videotapes of meetings in restaurants, cars and offices between undercover agents posing as high-tech military secrets brokers and Da-Chuang Zheng, a Chinese citizen, Jing-li Zhang of Hong Kong and three Chinese-Americans who are naturalized citizens. The meetings began after a tip-off that one of the three, Kuang-Shin Lin, a technical supervisor for A.T.&T. Information Systems, was "shopping around" for classified equipment sold only to NATO nations; the arrests came last Saturday night outside a restaurant near Marlboro, N.J., after Mr. Zheng, described by Customs agents as "the money man" and a person "with ties to the Chinese military," produced a shopping list of 14 state-of-the-art items.

Technology exchange between the United States and China has increased during the Reagan Administration, but the Chinese have been pressing for a faster flow. "The Chinese alluded to that on the videotapes," said Patrick T. O'Brien, a Customs official. "They said that China is getting a lot more technology legally now but that they'd never be able to get this stuff legally." If they did, Arthur R. Stiffel, a Customs special agent said, "they would be right behind us technologically." Renliu Yao, first secretary of the Chinese Embassy in Washington, said his Government had "no response as yet" to the question of whether the high-tech shopping list had been authorized by Peking. "We hadn't heard of these men," he said.

Michael Wright and Caroline Rand Herron

Indiana's Hamilton Does It

Gamma-Liaison/Judy Sloan

Representative Lee H. Hamilton

How to Win Friends and Influence Foreign Policy

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

WASHINGTON — At a meeting a few weeks ago, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. asked Representative Lee H. Hamilton for his views on the continued stationing of marines in Lebanon. Mr. Hamilton had supported the deployment of the marines, and indeed had played a key role in fashioning the compromise that provided that the troops would perform a peacekeeping role for a period not exceeding 18 months.

But Mr. Hamilton, who had persuaded the Speaker to support the Administration's policy in Lebanon, replied that, among other things, he was troubled by what he felt was widespread confusion about the American role in Lebanon. What was needed, he said, was leadership that would provide a clear and forceful sense of direction.

Mr. Hamilton's remarks to a group that included the Secretaries of State and Defense were taken as a signal that Congressional support for the White House's Lebanon policy had badly eroded. For although his name is hardly a household word, the 20-year House veteran enjoys extraordinary influence among his colleagues on foreign policy issues. His influence transcends his positions as the No. 2 Democrat on the Foreign Affairs Committee and a key member of the Intelligence Committee. A political moderate, he enjoys close ties to both the House's young liberals and more conservative senior members. "Lee Hamilton is a thinker, which makes him a little different," said Christopher J. Matthews, a top aide to Mr. O'Neill. "He makes his case logically, deductively. He's not the kind of visceral politician you see around here. The Speaker looks to him as his expert on Lebanon, and carefully weighs everything he says."

After that meeting in the Speaker's office, Mr. Hamilton joined Representative Les Aspin, a Wisconsin Democrat, in a celebrated letter to President Reagan urging a clarification of the American role in Lebanon. They told the President that the United States had "overstated" its stake in Lebanon, had not pushed hard enough to achieve a political solution and was overly reliant on military solutions.

The letter elicited a prompt, respectful response from the President, who nonetheless said that he was determined to keep the marines in Beirut. Mr. Hamilton was subsequently designated by the Democratic leadership to draft a new resolution spelling out what the United States role in Lebanon should be, and was at work on still another of the compromises that have come to be his stock in trade when the President announced the pullout of the marines.

The Congressman has a special relationship with Representative Dante B. Fascell, a Florida Democrat and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He enjoys a similar relationship with Representative Edward P. Boland, a Massachusetts Democrat who heads the House Intelligence Committee. It was Mr. Hamilton, working with Mr. Fascell, who drafted a compromise on American assistance to El Salvador, tying the aid to improvements in human rights and land reform. And it was Mr. Hamilton, in conjunction with Mr. Boland, who hammered out the Democratic leadership position against providing covert aid to the rebels in Nicaragua.

Crafting Consensus

"The toughest thing to do in this institution is to build consensus, create a compromise," Mr. Hamilton acknowledged. "The issues come at us with such rapidity, and they are so complex, that it's very hard to do." The Congressman believes in White House supremacy in foreign policy, but with some reservations. "My view is that the President is the chief foreign policy maker," he said. "Nothing we do is going to change that, or should change that. But I also believe that Congress has an important role to play. We're a partner in that process, perhaps a junior partner, but nonetheless a partner."

"Congress rarely initiates foreign policy," he continued. "We react to Presidential initiatives. We tend to influence policy on the margins." A major function of the Congress, Mr. Hamilton says, was demonstrated during the Lebanon crisis. "Congress is the principal institution that tells a President if he has support for a policy," he said.

Mr. Hamilton's other power base is on the Joint Economic Committee, which he will head next year, under a system of rotating chairmanships between the House and Senate. He is a fiscal moderate, and his economic views by and large reflect those of the rural Indiana district he represents. As chairman of the Europe and Middle East subcommittee, Mr. Hamilton has been tougher than most of his colleagues on Israel, has voted against aid to Israel and assailed that country's invasion of Lebanon. "United States-Israeli interests are usually parallel, but not always," he said. "I do not equate Israeli national interest with United States national interest."

Mr. Hamilton believes that comity holds the House together. This was demonstrated several years ago, when his effort to lift the arms embargo against Turkey was approved by the Foreign Affairs Committee by a single vote. Five minutes later, Representative Michael Harrington, a Massachusetts Democrat who supported the embargo, walked in. His flight to Washington had been delayed by bad weather; had he been present, Mr. Hamilton's effort would have failed. Mr. Hamilton later told friends that, had Mr. Harrington asked for a fresh vote, he would have gone along with the request.

Administration Wants to Expand an Experiment

Roger Roth

'Vouchers' — Key to Housing the Poor?

By GERALD M. BOYD

WASHINGTON — If the Federal Government encouraged poor people to shop around for rental housing on the open market, would they do so, and in the process sharply reduce Washington's stake in the construction and maintenance of public housing?

Yes, the Reagan Administration says. And that supposition will be the subject of extensive debate in the weeks to come as Congress takes up the fiscal 1985 budget for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The agency's budget includes only a limited amount of money for the construction of new public housing units. Instead, it places greater emphasis on a five-year, $1.5 billion Federal subsidy program of "vouchers" which, the Administration says, would enable the poor to find desirable houses and apartments on their own.

The Administration has always touted vouchers — in effect certificates for the purchase of certain goods and services — as a way of reducing the role of Government. At various times, it has proposed voucher programs for such things as health insurance, jobs and education.

By and large, Capitol Hill hasn't shared the Administration's enthusiasm. Some Congressional skeptics call vouchers just another means by which the White House seeks to shed its obligations to the poor. But in November, Congress cleared a $200 million housing-voucher demonstration program to provide funds for 15,000 units of low-income housing. In its 1985 budget, the Administration wants to expand the experiment to 87,000 units. "We wanted to do everything we could do within our means to see that we provided housing to those who were in need," said W. Calvert Brand, a general deputy assistant secretary of the Housing and Urban Development agency. He and other officials maintain that vouchers would allow the poor to avoid being "warehoused" in segregated public housing projects. "We also wanted to do it," Mr. Brand said, "in a context that would let those people be able to really be a part of their community and to feel that they are not being set aside as second-class citizens."

Doubts About Landlords

But Florence Roisman, counsel for the National Housing Law Project, considers the vouchers "a fraud." The program, she continues, "reflects an attempt by the Administration to get out of the business of housing low-income people." She and other doubters maintain that, for one thing, a shortage of low-cost housing in most areas allows landlords to be choosy, and thus inclined to avoid the redtape involved if they rent to tenants whose payments would be subsidized.

Previous Administrations provided housing for the poor through construction programs. One approach, the so-called Section 8 program, guaranteed developers and local housing authorities a steady income from tenants whose rents would be subsidized. In most cases a tenant paid a percentage of the rent, a figure now set at no more than 30 percent of adjusted gross income, and the Federal Government underwrote the rest.

Citing the expenses involved, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Samuel R. Pierce ended new construction under Section 8. He and other Government housing officials argue that Section 8's limits on a tenant's payments unduly restricted the beneficiaries. Under the Administration's proposal, the vouchers would go directly to local housing authorities, which would eventually reimburse private landlords. In a marked change, the voucher program would eliminate the 30 percent income ceiling. Thus, H.U.D. officials say, the tenant could pay more and have a wider selection of housing choices.

The use of housing vouchers isn't entirely new. They were tested through an Experimental Housing Allowance Program, which the Government conducted in 12 cities between 1973 and 1980. About 30,000 low-income families received allowances of varying amounts under the program for periods ranging from 3 to 10 years. Mr. Brand says that experiment was a rousing success, letting recipients of the aid "know they are able to live and function as normal citizens of the community," not set apart in public housing projects, and providing them "with something to say about the selection of housing."

Chester Hartman, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, counters that the experiment instead underscored the weaknesses of vouchers, including the fact that they did not lead to much new building. It "showed very clearly that those most in need of housing are least likely to get it," he said. For one thing, he said, female heads of households and members of minority groups were often discriminated against by private landlords. "The theory under the housing allowance concept," Mr. Hartman added, "is that if you give money to people in substandard housing they will use it to move to standard housing, but in fact, the data showed clearly that few people moved."

The Economy

CHERNENKO'S INHERITANCE

A Low-Tech Economy at Home . . .

By MARSHALL I. GOLDMAN

AFTER having been initially rejected for the post of General Secretary of the Communist Party, Konstantin U. Chernenko must be exultant about the sudden improvement in his political fortunes. But despite his euphoria, he must be intimidated, if not overwhelmed, by the stagnation and lethargy that confront him within the Soviet economy.

Because of the efforts of his predecessor, Yuri Andropov, economic conditions have improved so that today there is little likelihood of any economic collapse. But while Mr. Andropov managed to halt the rot, even he did not attempt to deal with the fundamental restructuring that is so necessary if the Soviet economy is to provide for its people's needs and produce products that are competitive by world standards.

Conceivably, if he had lived longer, Mr. Andropov might one day have taken on the challenge; yet there is good reason to believe that the problems are so intractable that even someone as determined and able as Yuri Andropov would have been unequal to the challenge. Given Mr. Chernenko's past record of live-and-let-live conduct in party affairs, his lack of experience in the economic sphere, his advanced years and his evident poor health, it is hard to see how he will be able to deal with all the tests that await him.

His first chore will be to sustain the growth that Mr. Andropov instituted. Even though that growth — a 3 percent increase in what the Soviet Union defines as the national income consumed and invested — was quite modest by previous Soviet standards, that will not be an easy assignment. Already some danger signals have appeared: Coal production fell last year, and while petroleum output rose for the year as a whole, production during October, November and December fell from the levels attained in the comparable periods of 1982.

It must also be remembered that most of the growth generated by Mr. Andropov was primarily a consequence of his emphasis on discipline and his attack on absenteeism and alcoholism. It will be hard for Mr. Chernenko to build or even continue on that. Moreover, given his association with the cronyism and lethargy that was the hallmark of the Brezhnev Administration, it seems unlikely that Mr. Chernenko will feel comfortable pushing hard on law and order. Conceivably, Mikhial S. Gorbachev, at 52 not only younger but more experienced with economic affairs, might be able to provide the economic insight that Mr. Chernenko lacks.

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Alain Mingam/Gamma

General Secretary Konstantin U. Chernenko

But what about the main challenge — the need to reduce the emphasis on heavy industry and in its stead to stimulate innovation, increase the production of food and consumer goods and foster the start of the Soviet Union's own high-technology industries? In his speech to the Central Committee accepting his election, Mr. Chernenko said he agreed that "the system of economic management, the whole of our economic machinery, needs a serious restructuring.""

ADMITTEDLY, the unfinished nature of this work may have been due to Mr. Andropov's early incapacity and more likely it reflects how resistant the Soviet economic system is to change. Anyone who attempts to downplay Soviet heavy industry or reduce the share of G.N.P. allocated to military spending threatens the vested interests of the most powerful officials in the Soviet Union. Even Mr. Andropov acknowledged how inflexible these old-time apparatchiks were.

In the eyes of these bureaucrats, structural reform meant disruption and possibly chaos. For example, outdated steel mills would have to be closed; that would mean unemployment. To stimulate new products, factory managers would have to be allowed more freedom of action and more control over prices. Similarly, to stimulate the output of fruits and vegetables, it is necessary to give more flexibility to the peasants. But this would set off price increases and speculation.

The challenge of dealing with the high-technology sector is equally perplexing. Because the high-technology industries are so fast-moving, they are not suited to the slow, methodical ways of the Soviet economy. This, more than anything else, explains why the technology industries in the Soviet Union seem so far behind those of the capitalist world.

But what if the Soviet Union should do the unexpected and somehow increase the production of word processors and personal computers? The existence of a network of word processors, personal computers and electronic mail would pose a near-impossible challenge for the police and their political control. If even now copying machines are viewed as a threat to the political security of the country, word processors and interactive computers, with their potential for underground communications, would be even more of a problem.

Mr. Chernenko's task is not easy. He will have a hard enough time improving production in the old technology industries, while the new technologies will pose not only a major test of the country's innovative abilities, but also of its political security. These challenges will be difficult under the best of circumstances, and particularly difficult for Mr. Chernenko, a man of too little experience and too many years.

And an Archaic Approach to Trade

By FRANKLYN D. HOLZMAN

FOREIGN trade plays a smaller role in the Soviet economy than in any other nation except Communist China. Yet it serves important functions, providing Russia with food and technology from the West and acting as a key link in its relations with Eastern Europe. However, as the new Soviet boss, Konstantin U. Chernenko, must realize already, there are problems — although no crises — in both areas.

Expansion of hard-currency trade with the West during the 1970's was, on the whole, successful. Imports rose from $3 billion in 1970 to $26 billion in 1980, and they were financed almost entirely out of current earnings. Soviet net debt in 1982 stood at $10 billion and its debt-service ratio (to current earnings) was only 16 percent, respectable by any standards.

But this performance owes a lot to luck. The explosions in energy and gold prices, plus the enhanced ability of the Middle East oil producers to buy Soviet weapons, added about $20 billion to Soviet foreign exchange earnings between 1973 and 1980. Had this not happened, the Soviet Union would have imported less food and machinery, and paid higher rates of interest on a larger debt.

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Now, Comrade Chernenko has inherited a less rosy outlook. Soviet petroleum, responsible for more than half of its hard-currency earnings, has reached a production plateau and could fall sharply in the near future. At the same time, petroleum export prices are falling, Soviet domestic oil consumption continues to grow and prices of Soviet imports continue to rise.

The drive to increase output of natural gas will provide some offset to the drop in oil available for export if the latter is not too severe, an issue over which experts differ widely.

Another area where there would seem to be room for improvement is in exports of Soviet manufactured products, especially machinery and equipment. These constitute major exports of all industrialized nations, but amounted to less than 14 percent of total Soviet exports in 1981 and only 6 percent of its hard currency exports. Russian attempts to increase these levels have largely failed.

The problem is systemic. Under Communist central planning, manufacturing enterprises do not have to compete — they are assigned buyers. Since as much as 95 percent of the output of such enterprises is destined for domestic markets, Soviet management has little experience or incentive to meet the quality and technology standards to export successfully in highly competitive world markets. Only a major "decentralizing" economic reform could make a dent in this problem and the likelihood of a successful reform appears remote.

Another possibility of alleviating the hard-currency pinch is to divert exports away from Eastern Europe to the West. The crucial commodity is crude oil, about half of which is still exported to Eastern Europe.

To evaluate the likelihood of this solution, it is necessary to look more closely at Soviet-East European relations. Approximately half of both Soviet and East European trade is intrabloc, but it is very uncompetitive trade. All of these nations would profit if Comecon were dissolved and they became integraded in the lower-cost, higher-quality world market.

The advantages to the Soviet Union of expanding trade with the West at the expense of Eastern Europe are considerable. It currently exports raw materials to Eastern Europe at below world prices and imports from them inferior manufactured products at above world prices. In recent years, the net losses from these price differentials have been estimated at between $10 billion and $20 billion a year. And the losses from accepting inferior manufactured products are also large, though incalculable.

WHY trade with Eastern Europe on such adverse terms? Primarily because the Warsaw Pact is vital to Soviet political and strategic objectives. Trade on favorable terms for Eastern Europe acts as a "sweetener" in a situation that otherwise would have for them no redeeming features.

With hard currency problems developing and, particularly with a tightening of oil supplies, the opportunity costs of being a sugar daddy in intrabloc trade are rising. But dissatisfactions in Eastern Europe are also on the rise. Whether to continue as before or change the terms and scale of intrabloc trade is a question Mr. Chernenko will have to address.

Bloc trade poses other problems. Eastern Europe has economic and balance of payments problems illustrated by the fact that each year they have run substantial unplanned trade deficits with the Soviet Union, which have become de facto loans. Finally, because of the inconvertibility of bloc currencies, intrabloc trade must be conducted on a rigid bilaterally balanced basis. This kind of barter reduces the scale and profitability of trade.

For 20 years, attempts have been made without success to get rid of the bilateralism straitjacket. Undoubtedly, these efforts will continue. But, since convertibility requires reforms eliminating central planning, successful efforts are unlikely.

Are Swiss Accounts Worth the Cachet?

By DEBORAH RANKIN

FOR people interested in keeping their financial affairs private — say, from a suspicious ex-spouse or nosy Internal Revenue Service agents — the idea of opening a Swiss bank account sounds appealing. But such accounts are not for everyone, and unless one has reasons other than privacy for banking abroad, the relatively low interest rates that Swiss banks pay on consumer deposits may make American-based investments far more attractive.

Swiss banks have long had a cachet that their American counterparts lack. Instead of providing the latest in 20th-century hardware that can spew out cash or computerized statements with impersonal efficiency, they conjure up visions of a bygone day — antique-filled offices presided over with civilized calm by urbane European bankers.

"The Swiss have been in this business for a very long time, and do it very well," said Marc S. Koplik, a specialist in international business and a partner in the New York law firm of Henderson Koplik & Carter. "They're quite professional."

Moreover, they provide a wide range of services not typically available at a single institution here in the United States. Not only can they provide such personal service as accepting telephone instructions "with papers, if required, to follow," but they can also provide money management, trust and investment banking services.

In addition, Swiss banks offer an unparalleled degree of privacy, through such things as numbered accounts where the owners' names are locked up in banks vaults, that simply is not available in this country. "Some people are very paranoid," said Mr. Koplik. "It would give them great comfort to know that it is a criminal violation in Switzerland for a banker to say what amount of money is in an account."

But there are several drawbacks to opening a Swiss bank account. For one thing, the minimum deposits can be quite high while the amount of interest paid on those sums is relatively low by American standards. For example, at Bank Leu, one of the five largest banks in Switzerland, the minimum deposit to open an account is $10,000.

A "current account," similar to an American checking account, pays no interest at all. A "deposit account," similar to a NOW account, pays 3½ percent interest and permits depositors to withdraw as much as 20,000 Swiss francs (almost $10,000) a month without notice. Two months' notice is required on larger withdrawals. By contrast, some American banks are paying as much as 8 or 9 percent interest on "super NOW's."

An "investment book" pays 4 percent interest and permits withdrawals of up to 10,000 Swiss francs (almost $5,000) every six months without notice. Six months' notice is required on larger withdrawals. If such withdrawals are made without notice, they are subject to a charge of 1 percent of the amount in excess of 10,000 Swiss francs. By contrast, one-year certificates of deposit at some American banks pay an effective rate as high as 10 or 11 percent.

Another drawback is that foreign depositors may face some unusual charges not common in this country. In the mid-1970's, for example, Switzerland imposed severe restrictions on foreign accounts. Only the first 50,000 Swiss francs of an account could draw interest, and accounts above 100,000 francs were charged "negative interest" of 40 percent — in effect, a confiscatory rate. While these restrictions have since been dropped, they could be reimposed should economic conditions change.

For these reasons, Stanley C. Ruchelman, a partner specializing in international tax matters with the accounting firm of Touche Ross & Company, said that someone should have reasons other than privacy for opening a Swiss bank account. Prime candidates for such accounts are expatriate Americans, such as executives transferred overseas, as well as European nationals who are temporarily living in the United States and people with overseas business interests.

While it is theoretically possible to open a Swiss bank account by mail, people familiar with the practices of Swiss banks advise against that. "The whole idea is to establish a relationship," said Mr. Ruchelman. "This is not the type of transaction where you're going to put in just $10. If you're going to put in an amount of money that is significant to you, you should go and meet the bankers first hand."

He suggested that a depositor first obtain an introduction to a Swiss banker from someone here, perhaps one's own bank or employer, and then complete the transaction in Switzerland.

The details of your Swiss bank account can never be disclosed in cases of tax evasion (as opposed to tax fraud), because tax evasion is not a crime under Swiss law. However, under United States law, American citizens are subject to tax on all their income, even that earned abroad.

They are, however, permitted to claim a credit for foreign taxes paid. Switzerland imposes a 35 percent withholding tax on interest, but Americans can get 30 percentage points refunded by showing they are not Swiss residents.

Even though Swiss authorities may not notify their American counterparts about the existence of your account, Americans who maintain such accounts are nonetheless subject to a variety of American reporting requirements. The long form 1040, for example, asks if the taxpayer has any foreign bank accounts. If the answer is yes (and the value of the accounts exceeds $5,000), the person is required to fill out Form 90-22.1 and file it annually with the Treasury Department.

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Wrench Is Tossed In Big Steel's Plan

The Justice Department sent shock waves through the steel industry and upset some key members of the Reagan Administration when the Antitrust Division said it would oppose the proposed merger between LTV and Republic Steel. J. Paul McGrath, the new antitrust chief, said the combined company would created too much concentration in flat-rolled steel and stainless steel products — a situatiion that could too easily lead to price collusion. The announcement was also a blow to United States Steel and National Steel, which have also announced intentions to merge. Criticism of the Justice Department's action came quickly from Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldridge and Trade Representative Bill Brock. "It seems we intend to impose greater trade barriers on ourselves than other governments impose on us," Mr. Brock commented. Mr. McGrath did leave a door open to the steel industry, saying that it would consider the LTV-Republic combination if the plan were revised.

The Associated Press

J. Paul McGrath

Back From the Brink? Pan American World Airways and International Harvester — two companies that have been close to collapse in recent years — have reduced their flow of red ink. In the fourth quarter, Pan Am cut its loss to $59 million, from $273 million the year earlier, while Harvester's loss totaled $55 million, compared with a $111 million deficit. Moreover, Pan Am reported a fourth-quarter operating profit.

The Ford Motor Company continued the trend set last week by G.M. of record yearly and fourth-quarter earnings. The No. 2 auto maker posted a $781 million profit in the quarter, compared with a $236 million loss in the 1982 period, while full-year totals were $1.87 billion, compared with a $658 million loss in 1982. As was the case with G.M., analysts noted that Ford's strong performance was greatly helped by the import restraints on Japanese cars last year.

The auto industry continued strong into February, as sales during the first 10-day period rose 35.2 percent. It was the best early-February period in five years. Ford led the pack with a 65.5 percent gain over 1983.

What Slowdown? Not only did the Commerce Department revise upward its fourth-quarter real G.N.P. figures, to a 4.9 percent annual rate from 4.5 percent, but a slew of economic numbers indicated that the economy was roaring ahead in January. The strength appeared in three of the economy's most important sectors — cars, housing and consumer buying. During January, industrial production was up 1.1 percent, compared with six-tenths of 1 percent in December; construction of new homes jumped 15 percent to a five-year high — a 1.92 million unit annual rate; after a laggardly December, retail sales rose a brisk 2.2 percent, and personal income rose 1.1 percent. Moreover, in December, the nation's factories operated at 79.9 percent capacity — the highest rate since the summer of 1981.

Stocks did not even react to the good economic news, as the Dow Jones industrial average fell through most of the week, closing almost 12 points lower at 1,145.87. Interest rates rose steadily, though not sharply, and bond prices fell. The Fed reported on Thursday a $2.5 billion rise in the basic measure of the money supply, which pushed rates up somewhat.

I.B.M. announced what Compaq, Corona, Columbia Data Products, Eagle and other makers of portable I.B.M. PC-compatible computers probably feared the most — a portable version of its Personal Computer for $2,795. The computer giant notified retailers on Monday of the machine's appearance, which will weigh about 30 pounds, be available March 1 and run almost all of the programs designed for the PC. The portables have enjoyed a very lucrative niche in the P.C. world, because they run most I.B.M. programs but are easily movable and sell, in most cases, for considerably less than the full-sized I.B.M. version. "But the game may be ending" for them, as one analyst said.

Foreign businessmen have had a continuing complaint against Mexico. Despite the fact that the Government has sought to bring in more industry, especially that with an American label, the it has required 51 percent Mexican ownership in foreign-held subsidiaries. That may be changing. The Government announced that it would permit majority ownership by foreigners in a number of key industries, including farm and textile machinery, large generators and turbines, motorcycles and pharmaceuticals. Foreign businessmen clapped, but voiced some skepticism.

Texaco, meanwhile, got a green light from the F.T.C. in its $10.1 billion purchase of Getty Oil. And soon after the commission's 4-to-1 vote, the largest merger in corporate history became history. Texaco quicky bought some 56 percent of Getty stock from shareholders and the Getty Museum, and it is expected to buy the rest shortly.

Nathaniel C. Nash

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED FEBRUARY 17, 1984
(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
AT&T n	14,874,900	16⅝	- ⅛
AT&T o	7,950,100	63½	+ ⅛
Gulf Cp	7,067,800	54	- 3
IBM	5,141,800	109¾	- ¼
Phil Pet	4,810,600	42⅝	+ 4⅛
LILCo	4,773,400	7⅝	- ⅝
New Pk	4,207,300	35⅝	- 3⅛
Ford M	4,181,800	37¾	+ ⅜
Diam S	4,064,000	19	+ ¼
Beat Fd	3,891,300	35⅝	+ 4⅛
Hou NG	3,866,400	43¼	- 9¼
G Mot	3,757,800	68⅝	- 1
Sears	3,226,300	35½	+ ⅛
Pac GE	3,144,300	13¼	- ½
Pan Am	2,975,000	7	- ½

MARKET DIARY	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	820	480
Declines	1,169	1,607
Total Issues	2,240	2,253
New Highs	26	19
New Lows	225	219

VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	423,404,867	3,500,913,468
Same Per. 1983	396,139,050	3,007,088,749

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

New York Stock Exchange	High	Low	Last	Net Change
Indust	105.4	103.1	104.3	-0.25
Transp	86.4	84.2	84.5	-1.65
Utils	45.4	44.9	44.9	-0.80
Finance	90.6	88.9	88.9	-0.87
Composite	90.3	88.8	89.5	-0.48

Standard & Poor's	High	Low	Last	Net Chng
400 Indust	177.4	173.1	175.5	-0.24
20 Transp	139.7	134.9	135.7	-2.74
40 Utils	66.2	65.0	65.1	-1.04
40 Financial	17.5	17.1	17.1	-0.11
500 Stocks	157.4	154.1	155.7	-0.56

Dow Jones	High	Low	Last	Net Chng
30 Indust	1175.8	1139.9	1148.8	-11.83
20 Transp	518.3	499.2	502.3	-12.24
15 Utils	127.2	123.4	124.6	- 2.51
65 Comb	460.5	446.8	449.9	- 7.00

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED FEB. 17, 1984
(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
DorGas	1,760,700	20¾	+ ¼
DomeP	1,300,200	3⅝	+3/16
WangB	1,220,800	28⅛	+ ⅛
TIE	617,000	19½	...
Amdhl	563,200	16⅛	+ ¼
Reert wt	482,300	3⅜	+ ⅜
Reert A	420,800	44½	+ 3¼
PetLew	414,200	5	...
KeyPh	395,800	14⅞	- 1½
EchoS	356,800	7	- ⅛

MARKET DIARY	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	291	152
Declines	475	658
Total Issues	909	912
New Highs	11	8
New Lows	86	100

VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	27,602,375	235,414,430
Same Per. 1983	43,358,715	306,917,805

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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An Agenda, Comrades

Like the skiers at Sarajevo, Soviet and American leaders are suddenly bathing their Olympian rivalry in a great show of camaraderie. Over the bier of Yuri Andropov they rediscovered a taste for better relations, with Mr. Chernenko, according to an approving President Reagan, proposing talks to keep regional conflicts under "control" and to prevent "inadvertent" use of nuclear weapons.

Politics, you say, by people who only recently were calling each other liars. Well, of course. Mr. Reagan has a strong desire to overcome the American voter's fear of his anti-Soviet belligerence. The Politburo would welcome some international calm while it adjusts to a new regime that may itself be only transitional.

But the best diplomacy is grounded in domestic imperatives. If Mr. Reagan finally restores some balance to his dealings with Moscow, many American interests will be served. And if the Politburo is now eager, against its recent resolve, to deal with Mr. Reagan, it can help to insulate relations from quadrennial upheaval. Once Ronald Reagan engages in acts of détente, no Democrat will ever fear them quite so much.

Besides, as the Olympic athletes will testify, civility and a good code of conduct are not just for show. They relieve tension and help to tame the fiercest competition.

•

The problem now is how to get beyond handshakes. Arms control is the urgent issue. Yet if that were the highest priority of both Governments, there would be no need to celebrate mere handshakes. Of course, arms control. But how to exploit a few months of uncertain friendliness to get to truly serious negotiations in 1985?

First, negotiate an agenda of concerns that can be answered by modest agreements or unilateral actions. When they stood in these same foothills last summer, the superpowers envisioned reopening consulates and cultural exchanges and the like. Then came Korean Flight 7 to shatter the mood. Air travel is one good place to start.

Americans will not lightly forget the attack on that plane, even if most now assume it was not intentional. The Russians will not lightly apologize for mistakes that impugn their military competence. What both can do is join in efforts to protect civilian airliners and reopen air links between themselves.

Afghanistan and Nicaragua are not regional conflicts threatening to get out of control, but they are places where the superpowers could relieve each other's regional concerns while they draw back from interventions. It's worth a try.

And for a practice run at that kind of diplomacy, they might look to Lebanon, where Mr. Reagan has already taken a prudent step back from confronting the Russian troops in Syria. The President wrongly blamed Moscow last week for blocking his "preference" for a U.N. peacekeeping force in Lebanon; he never tried. Let him seek a veto-proof arrangement now.

Reducing the dangerous sales of "conventional" arms is a worthy but difficult project. But why not begin with joint actions against terrorism?

Mr. Reagan could also reassert his interest in more humane treatment of Soviet dissenters. Indeed, he's probably strong enough politically to propose a way around the punitive Jackson-Vanik amendment by which Congress unsuccessfully tried to promote freer emigration in return for enlarging Soviet trade.

Meanwhile, let diplomats quietly sort out the complaints about violations of past arms control treaties. Here is where not just trust but rules must be made to work. True arms control begins with a satisfactory accounting of weaponry, and such accounting, best of all, would finally end the unreasoned hostility of recent months.

Hello, Senator Andrews

Cap Weinberger calling. I'd be feeling fine, thank you, if there weren't a hundred Secretaries of Defense in the Senate trying to do my job.

Yes, I know you were just trying to help with your law requiring warranties on every weapon I buy from now on. How can I possibly want to repeal such a law? Let me tell you why.

Sure, no one in North Dakota would buy a tractor without a darned good warranty. But I can't buy tanks that way.

You'd rather have your transmission conk out in a turnip patch than on a battlefield? Listen, do you think the Russians get warranties on their T-72's?

Yes, I know they have more tanks and planes than we do and that ours have to be more reliable. But our weapons need to be more sophisticated to offset their numbers. Don't you see, it would stifle innovation if manufacturers had their hands tied with warranties.

No, Senator, I do not have a video recorder. Or a talking watch. You obviously don't understand weapons contracting. If I don't get your law repealed, all the contractors will raise prices on me, and look at the trouble I'm having getting Congress to swallow my budget as is.

Of course I want contractors to stand behind their products. Yes, I know the Air Force claims it'll save $2 billion from the warranties it got on new fighter plane engines. But I have to live with the industry. These are very specialized companies, all vital to defense. I can't just impose commercial practices on them and watch them go bankrupt.

No one can go broke as long as the Pentagon pays $435 for a hammer? That's not funny, Senator. These companies take terrible risks. They often underestimate what a weapon will cost and bid too low. If they couldn't make up their losses on spare parts they just wouldn't do defense work.

You really think a contractor makes more selling me a defective weapon and fixing it than producing a workable weapon to start with? That's plain wrong. Yes, my former deputy told contractors they could cut costs 10 to 30 percent by making the weapons right the first time.

Now look, I promised you in committee last week that I "absolutely" would try to make your warranty law work. And, off the record, I didn't know at the time that the President's budget appendix seeks its repeal. Anyway, I just can't have the Pentagon micromanaged from Capitol Hill.

Please understand my position. Senator Roth wants me to set up a completely independent testing office to evaluate weapon prototypes before they go into production. Senator Grassley wants me to have open competition for all weapons contracts. Now you want warranties on weapons. That all may sound very reasonable to you. But it would mean a total departure from the Pentagon's usual way of doing business.

No, that's *not* the problem. It's the Russians who are the problem. Just give me the $305 billion I need this year and I'll take care of them, Senator. I'll warrant you that.

Topics

Adjustments

The Real Sandino

Jesse Jackson's on-again, off-again plan to visit Nicaragua has once more drawn attention to his own Presidential candidacy. But his indecision has also called attention to a shadowy figure named Augusto César Sandino, whose political heirs will commemorate his murder 50 years ago on Tuesday. And that has its own importance.

From 1927 to 1933, Mr. Sandino was known to North Americans as the bandit leader of a guerrilla resistance to U.S. Marines then occupying Nicaragua. To his own people, he became a folk hero because of his hatred of "Yankee imperialism" and his nebulous leftist nationalism.

"Nicaraguans," he once wrote, "are intrepid, political, even poets by nature." He felt that he was marked by destiny to liberate his country.

When the Marines left Nicaragua, Washington was confident the country was finally in good hands. An elected president was nominally in charge, and a good soldier named Somoza headed an American-trained National Guard. Believing it was safe to do so, Sandino came out of the hills to make peace. National Guardsmen shot him down in an ambush.

The real Sandino had his brutal side, and his politics were more deeply felt than articulated. But martyrdom cleanses and simplifies, and his memory is worth two divisions to the regime that exploits it. Mr. Sandino has buried his killers, and his faith in destiny was not misplaced.

■

Hearing in Court

Should Alec Naiman have been allowed to serve as a juror in the drug-selling trial of Hector Guzman? Mr. Naiman met all the traditional qualifications, but there was a problem: He can neither hear nor speak. For that reason, the defense attorney exercised his peremptory right to bar Mr. Naiman from the jury.

On the surface, the lawyer's action seemed reasonable. The defendant's right to a fair trial ought to come first. It might be hampered by a juror who can't appreciate the nuances of spoken testimony. The court would have to pay for an interpreter and guard against his bias and let him intrude on the privacy of the jury room. Why invite such problems and costs?

Yet organizations for the deaf report no great difficulties when deaf persons have served on juries in other states. And interpreting for the deaf is said to be a serious profession with a stern code of ethics that promises accuracy and confidentiality. Some interpreters specialize in court proceedings. Many can convey nuance as well as meaning.

Before New York's judges and lawyers again challenge jurors like Mr. Naiman, let them investigate the experience elsewhere. Unlike many who are called for jury duty, Mr. Naiman seemed highly motivated to serve. He deserved at least the benefit of the doubt.

■

The Banking Game

The New York of "Guys and Dolls" may be gone forever. But "the oldest established permanent floating crap game" still lives — in the form of the Friday bank line.

The game doesn't take skill, only a keen eye. Assuming the lines before each teller are the same length, the player picks the one that holds the fewest number of people grasping rubber-banded envelopes. Those people have multiple checks, multiple deposits, a mortage and a loan. Get behind one of them and you'll be in the bank all day.

Once they've chosen a line, only losers look straight ahead. Experienced players watch the window whose teller is still out to lunch, psyching themselves up to make a break for it the minute that teller returns and removes the "Closed" sign. Most players are experienced, of course, so this portion of the game often winds up in a foot race.

How does the player know when he's won? Simple. He looks around the floor to see if the people he came in with — the woman in the red cap, say, and the man with the backpack — are still in line.

If they are, he feels like he's thrown a seven.

Letters

The 'Palpable' Bias in Quotas

To the Editor:

The recent decision of the newly reconstituted United States Commission on Civil Rights to flatly oppose racial quotas in employment provoked controversy, particularly among partisans who for years have pushed quotas under the guise of "affirmative action," which, in its undefiied form, the new commission emphatically supports.

Now, some former staff directors of the commission have added their names to the chorus, without, of course, mentioning the word "quota," but chiding the commission for taking its stand "without laboriously reviewing the facts, as gathered by the commission" (letter Feb. 15).

The decision to support or abhor racial tests for jobs in America should not be based on empirical data. Of course quotas work. Quotas give jobs to those preferred and deny jobs to the victims of the new discrimination. The only questions are whether this discrimination is constitutional and whether it is decent public policy.

The controlling Supreme Court opinion of Justice Powell in the Bakke case explicitly found the California quota unconstitutional: "The guarantee of equal protection cannot mean one thing when applied to one individual and something else when applied to a person of another color."

Justice Powell also reaffirmed one classic public policy argument against quotas in that they "may only re-enforce common stereotypes holding that certain groups are unable to achieve success without special protection based on a factor having no relationship to individual worth."

The commissioners, who on Jan. 16 reversed the old commission's policy in favor of quotas, were appointed because of their expertise in the literature, policy argument and, in some instances, the constitutional debates around quotas. Commissioner John Bunzel and I had given testimony to the old commission, objecting to its pro-quota policy enshrined in the deceptive title "Affirmative Action in the 1980's: Dismantling the Process of Discrimination."

Your readers can rest assured that the majority of the new commission, of whom at least four have academic experience, will have studied and thoughtfully considered any position adopted. However, we know the difference between fact, ethic and law.

The fact of discrimination must be found by evidence, but discrimination by law, as in quotas, is palpable and requires no further investigation, particularly when a Supreme Court decision has already found it so.

It is regrettable the former staff directors did not note that the new commission has authorized a massive study in an unworked and murky area to discover to what extent minority problems are or are not due to discrimination. This is certainly a proper subject for "laboriously reviewing the facts" and "meticulous study."

MORRIS B. ABRAM
Vice Chairman
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
New York, Feb. 15, 1984

Women in Academe Haven't Made It Yet

To the Editor:

"Blacks Decrease but Women Increase on University Faculties," proclaimed the headline of a Jan. 28 news article. Both it and the article are misleading and divisive.

In the past decade, neither women nor blacks have made significant progress toward equity in the academic community. I don't take issue with your pointing to the inequalities that still prevail for blacks, but it helps neither blacks nor women to intimate that women have made it.

The figures you were given by affirmative action officers obfuscate the issue by calling all faculty members professors. There's a significant difference between the tenured full professor and the untenured multitude of others (often women) who are instructors and lecturers or assistant and associate professors, part-time or on one-year appointments.

In its 1982-83 report from over 2,500 institutions of higher education, the American Association of University Professors reveals that after a decade of affirmative action women have achieved very little. Where they have entered academe, they are more likely to be found in the lower, untenured ranks, where they remain for longer periods than equally qualified men. At Harvard, women are only 4.2 percent of full professors; at Princeton, 3.2 percent; at Stanford, 2.6 percent, and at Yale, 3.9 percent.

As to economic equity, again women have made very little progress. Across the board, in public, private or church-related schools, the data reveal, the average salary for men is still significantly higher than that paid to women.

Much is made over the differential increase in the number of blacks and women earning Ph.D.'s, the pool from which faculty are drawn. According to your article, the five black faculty of Harvard are tenured full professors, and therefore "the pipeline is empty so that the situation in the future will get worse," or, if only the pipeline were filled, all would be well. Yet despite a larger pool of women Ph.D.'s and a filled lower-rank pipeline, women have not made professor commensurate with their numbers.

Simplistic explanations for the lack of progress for blacks or false assumptions about the progress of women are not helpful. Let us be clear. This is no time to become complacent about progress when blacks and women must fight together against the deliberate attempts by the Reagan Administration to undercut the Civil Rights Commission, redefine equity and affirmative action and turn back the clock on whatever little progress has been made.

ETHEL D. KAHN
Associate Professor, School of Social Work, Rutgers University
New Brunswick, N.J., Feb. 6, 1984

A Septuagenarian Job Hunter's Secret

To the Editor:

I would like to supplement Sidney G. Adler's letter (Feb. 12), in which he protests his mandatory retirement from high school teaching at age 70.

In my opinion, mandatory age retirement is as discriminatory as sex, ethnic and color discrimination.

At age 73, I voluntarily retired. After a year of frustrating idleness, I determined to seek employment that could utilize my background in sales, sales promotion, advertising and management. I was 100 percent able mentally and physically, but I was consistently and regretfully turned down because of age.

In desperation, I revised my resumé, taking 11 years off my age. Within two months I had a job.

Seven years later, even though I had received merit increases and additional responsibilities every year, I was mandatorily retired at "age 70" — I was 81 but as able physically and mentally as when I was hired.

This is but one illustration of how ridiculous mandatory retirement can be. Some people become incapable in their 70's, 50's, 40's and 30's. Many retain their capabilities beyond their 70's. They should be appraised accordingly and not automatically dispensed with.

BERNARD L. BAER
White Plains, Feb. 12, 1984

Shigeo Fukuda

Deadline for Abortion

To the Editor:

Advances in neonatology have intensified concern over fetuses' survival of abortion procedures [news story Feb. 15], but they have not created the problem. It was always there.

Prior to the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision in 1973, an abortion was medically defined as the termination of a pregnancy before its 20th week, for even then there was known to be a small chance of fetal survival. In its otherwise laudable ruling, the Court erred in extending this deadline. Except in cases of known fetal deformity, the original, scientifically and morally defensible definition should be adhered to. The "advances in neonatology" argument may enable the Court to save face in rectifying its mistake.

ROBERT E. HALL, M.D.
Pound Ridge, N.Y., Feb. 15, 1984

The writer headed the Association for the Study of Abortion (which was dissolved after the Court ruling).

EDB Contamination Put in Perspective

To the Editor:

If state health commissioners see fit to ban grain products containing even less ethylene dibromide (EDB) than the E.P.A.-recommended maximum allowable amount, then they are obligated to ban immediately:

Automobiles, home cooking, wood stoves, furnaces, coal burners, any outdoor burning, smoked meats, bacon, sausage, salami, hotdogs, some imported beers and, of course, cigarettes.

All of the aforementioned either produce or can contain several powerful carcinogens (polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons [PAH], nitrosamines and others) at or exceeding the levels of EDB found in cake mixes and other grain products.

For example, a well-done charcoal-broiled T-bone steak and the smoke from one cigarette can each contain 100 parts-per-billion (ppb) of PAH, some of which, such as benzpyrene, are at least as carcinogenic as EDB.

It should be realized that the current uproar over EDB is vastly disproportionate to the total chemical insult we experience from environmental chemical carcinogens.

As to the use of "parts per billion" (ppb) by scientists to describe the low-level contamination of grain products by EDB (and, before that, as a measure of dioxin levels in Missouri soil), just how much is one ppb?

In everyday language:

One ppb is one inch in 16,000 miles, or roughly two-thirds of the distance around the earth.

One ppb is one second in 33 years, or one minute in the time elapsed since the birth of Christ.

One ppb is one penny in $10 million.

One ppb is one teaspoon of fertilizer spread evenly over a garden of 5,000 acres.

One ppb is equivalent to four drops of water in a filled Olympic-sized swimming pool (64,000 gallons).

Or, for those of you on a low-carbohydrate diet, one ppb is one crouton in a salad weighing 500 tons.

GORDON W. GRIBBLE
Professor of Chemistry
Dartmouth College
Hanover, N.H., Feb. 13, 1984

U.S. 'Mad Man's War' Fought on Russian Soil

To the Editor:

In his State of the Union Message on Jan. 25, President Reagan, referring to the United States and Russia, said that "our sons and daughters have never fought each other in war."

The President appears to have forgotten, or perhaps has never heard of, the Archangel and Vladivostok expeditions of 1918-19, even though Nikita Khrushchev, during his U.S. visit in 1959, reminded Americans of these invasions of Russian soil by United States troops.

In 1919, more than 5,000 Americans were sent to Archangel to fight in an undeclared war against Russia. Ten years later, Senator Vandenberg of Michigan persuaded the Senate to pass a bill authorizing $200,000 (several million dollars in today's money) to bring home the bodies of the dead (most were from the 339th Infantry Regiment, made up largely of young men from Michigan and Wisconsin).

After two months' digging, 86 bodies were exhumed (it was reported that some were British, dug up by mistake) and brought back for burial in Detroit. By 1934, 58 more skeletons had been shipped back to the U.S. Numerous casualties were suffered through frostbite, malnutrition and the great influenza epidemic that the troopships carried from Britain to Archangel.

As in the later undeclared war in Vietnam, the survivors of the Archangel expedition received no hero's welcome. When they returned home, no campaign awards or medals were bestowed on them. Truly the men of the 339th Regiment were "forgotten men."

One of those who fought in that war was John Cudahy, later President Roosevelt's Minister to Ireland and Ambassador to Poland and Belgium. In his book "Archangel: America's War Against Russia" (1924), Cudahy gave a vivid account of what he called "this mad man's war."

Perhaps the immediate lesson we should learn from that disaster is not to get involved, to quote Cudahy again, in another "shameful illegitimate little war" — this time in Central America — not even in the guise of a crusade against "an empire of evil."

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN
Professor Emeritus of History
University of Washington
Seattle, Feb. 7, 1984

Burger's Admirers

To the Editor:

As an attorney in practice for over 20 years, I generally disagree vehemently with Chief Justice Burger's comments concerning lawyers. However, I have to regard the Chief Justice's description of a segment of the bar as "procurers" as being particularly appropriate when the response of the lawyers to whom this appellation is addressed is to accord the speaker a standing ovation ("Burger, the Critic, Gets Regal Welcome by Bar," news story Feb. 14).

HARVEY J. KAUFMAN
New York, Feb. 14, 1984

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

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Let U.N. Force Keep Peace in Beirut

By Lincoln P. Bloomfield

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The amber lights flashed this week by both the White House and the Kremlin will, if they turn green, make it feasible for a neutral peacekeeping presence to take the place of the multinational "peacekeeping" force now ending its mission impossible in Beirut. It will take an ecumenical miracle to make a unified nation out of Lebanon's fragments. But only a genuinely international effort can free the United States to focus on the underlying issues that have triggered a major Arab-Israeli war every eight years, on the average, since 1949.

How would a genuinely multilateral peace-monitoring force differ from the multinational force — the French, British and Italian troops and the 1,200 United States Marines — now straggling out of Beirut? A United Nations force would be made up of visible, politically unthreatening but nonetheless armed units from small and medium-sized countries. Its mission would be to insulate the conflict from outside meddling while fostering conciliation and peaceful change.

Ten times in the last three decades, United Nations peacekeeping has achieved just that purpose — in the Middle East, Cyprus, the Indian subcontinent and Central Africa. The great powers have often been reluctant to call in a United Nations force — and have done so only when matters are close to hopeless. But in most cases, they have eventually discovered that neutral peacekeeping is indeed consistent with their national interests. "Do it yourself" military diplomacy sometimes works. Other times — as in Lebanon — neutral peacekeeping is in fact better suited to serve the national interests of distant powers that want to limit their involvement in a regional dispute.

It has been said that the tragedy of the United Nations is that it became indispensable before it became effective. The hazards of using the Security Council are obvious: It all too often functions like a kind of guerrilla theater. It is not really surprising that American policy-makers are generally skeptical of trying to use multilateral peacekeeping to serve American interests. It usually takes the failure of a great power's unilateral effort to demonstrate that in some situations — Lebanon and perhaps, in time, El Salvador — the costs of going it alone may be far greater than those of using the United Nations, warts and all.

American reluctance to turn to multilateral peacekeepers has been thoroughly bipartisan. In 1963, when Cyprus's constitutional arrangements came violently unglued, first Washington tried to handle it, then the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Only when Moscow looked tempted to intervene did we turn to the United Nations. A decade later, during the Yom Kippur war, it took a superpower confrontation to persuade the Nixon Administration, noted for its contempt for "soft" foreign policy, of the utility of United Nations peacekeeping.

We have to go back to 1960 to find a President who understood the value of such international mediation: President Eisenhower, whose maturity in such matters looks increasingly impressive, declined Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba's frantic request for United States Marine intervention in the rapidly disintegrating Belgian Congo (now Zaire), referring him instead to the United Nations. Savagely assailed on both the left and the right — by the Soviet Union and by American conservatives — United Nations peacekeepers and diplomats succeeded in holding the Congo together — just as they might hold Lebanon together, if given the chance.

The United States has tried hard to play a constructive role in Lebanon, and we should have the courage now to admit that our policy has gone off the rails. It is past time to resume our original task of making peace. Throughout the 1970's, we acted as an honest broker in the region — and were, astonishingly, accepted as such by all sides in the conflict, despite our support for Israel. Indeed, our mediating efforts alone brought what peace the tormented area has known.

President Reagan's fair-minded peace proposals of September 1982 provide the basis for a new American peacemaking initiative — a chance to follow in the tradition of brilliant American mediatory efforts by Henry A. Kissinger, Under Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco, President Jimmy Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance.

Only if a United Nations force holds the ring, allowing Lebanon to sort out its problems, can we hope to confront the difficult issues of the West Bank and Golan Heights. Addressing these tangled problems now will not guarantee a tranquil Middle East. But unless we do, there is no chance at all for peace in the world's number one tinderbox.

Lincoln P. Bloomfield, who has served in the State Department and National Security Council, is professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The Death Penalty: Question of Fairness

By Elliot F. Gerson

HARTFORD — Three weeks ago, in Pulley v. Harris, the United States Supreme Court decided that appeals courts do not have to compare a death penalty imposed in one case with penalties imposed in other cases involving similar crimes. The Court said that "any capital sentencing scheme may occasionally produce aberrational outcomes," and found nothing in the Constitution's prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment to bar such aberrational outcomes. As a result, California is one step closer to executing Robert Harris for murder and bank robbery.

The Harris case reflects how far the Supreme Court has backtracked since 1972 when, in Furman v. Georgia, it found that death sentences were being imposed in such an arbitrary and capricious manner that the death penalty in all instances was unconstitutional. But the death penalty is popular in this country — setting us apart from virtually every other developed democracy in the world — and numerous states went back to the drawing boards to design new death statutes that could withstand constitutional scrutiny. The Court has largely obliged the states and has shown itself willing to tolerate the occasional procedural flaw and judicial short cut in order to reduce the congestion on the nation's death rows.

I don't wish to argue that the death penalty is necessarily unconstitutional or immoral. But it's important to understand the process by which states are now allowed to kill people. And the Harris case points out one of the most unsettling problems in this process.

We all get angry when we get fined $100 for speeding, while someone else traveling at the same speed — if apprehended at all — gets only a warning. Quite rightly, judges show the speeder little sympathy. The fact that the justice system cannot catch every offender, or punish all similar offenders in a similar way, is ordinarily no defense for the few who are caught or more severely punished.

But what of condemned murderers? Suppose that shots are fired by John Smith and his accomplice as they flee the scene of a robbery. One shot kills the storekeeper. Smith's jury votes to electrocute him. But what if Smith is the only person out of 30 convicted of felony murder in his state to receive the death penalty? Some might get off because they can afford a better lawyer, others because a district attorney was not as zealous in seeking the death penalty, and others, perhaps even Smith's accomplice, because they are offered a maximum life sentence in exchange for testifying for the state. But Smith is not so lucky.

Viewed in isolation, Smith certainly should be punished. And perhaps he should be executed. But is it just to take a man's life without asking whether it is fair that others who have done things just as heinous should live? Is this the same as the case of the speeding motorists, or is the difference between a lesser penalty and death so great as to fundamentally transform the nature of the problem?

Three years ago, as a law clerk to Potter Stewart, the Supreme Court Justice, I asked questions like these as I reviewed the weekly petitions from men on death row. Most had committed unspeakable crimes, and any compassion was hard to muster. But many petitions came in from men sentenced to death for less appalling crimes. And the court often received pleas from men who had committed what appeared to be more barbaric acts but who had received only a prison sentence.

In that year at the Supreme Court, I don't remember ever doubting that someone sentenced to death was guilty as charged. But even when I felt that a death penalty in a particular case was not excessive, I realized that an additional question had to be answered: whether it was excessive compared with the punishments given to other people for other crimes. In a system of justice based on the principle of equality, that question must not be ignored.

More generally, given the vast number of capital offenses committed in this country, and the tiny number of people who receive a capital sentence, I came to question whether things had changed since 1972, when Justice Stewart had written that "death sentences are cruel and unusual in the same way that being struck by lighting is cruel and unusual." After all the Supreme Court's fine tuning, it is still difficult to find any meaningful basis to distinguish the few cases in which death is imposed from the many in which it is not.

These difficulties, combined with statistics that demonstrate incontrovertibly that one's chances of being condemned to death for a crime are much greater if the victim is white rather than black, should, at a minimum, spur conscientious debate over whether the death penalty can ever be justly imposed in a democratic society.

Elliot F. Gerson is deputy attorney general of Connecticut.

Brad Holland

Small Business Myths

By Bertell Ollman

The typical newspaper or magazine article on urban small business catalogues the fear and failures generated by dope addicts, shoplifters and other little fry who abound in poorer neighborhoods. But hardly a complaint is heard about the big banks, big landlords, big producers, big distributors and occasionally big customers — in short the big fish — whose collective behavior toward small-business people is the cause of most of what ails them.

Ask florists, barbers or restaurant owners what influence they have over the interest they pay on loans (or whether they can get a loan in the first place), over the rent they pay, over the cost of their equipment, etc. The obvious answer is that they have none. Small-business people are caught in an ever-tightening vise that is operated by and for big business.

Yet, I do not doubt that most of the small-business people who are interviewed for these media stories display the respect that big business has come to take for granted from its junior namesake. Why? Chiefly, it's because of the powerful mythology of self-reliance and individual responsibility that discourages people from blaming their troubles on forces they cannot control.

According to the American dream, if you have a good idea, invest your whole kitty in it and work like a demon, you too can get rich. Hardly a day goes by without the National Enquirer or the Star telling us about the man who made a million dollars selling baseball hats with horns, prospecting in sewers for silver or finding still another way to serve hamburgers.

Most small-business people — and the even more numerous workers who hope to one day start a small business — refrain from attacking big business because they believe their turn is next. Horatio Alger lives on in their consciousness as a final and desperate hope, the only way of moving up in a society that insists we march through life in single file.

Taking the heat off big business

The mythology in which small business is swathed carries over to explanations of why small businesses fail. According to a Dun & Bradstreet survey of financial "experts," most small-business failures are due to a "lack of business-management knowledge." But this is like saying that people on the Titanic drowned because they couldn't swim. With nine out of 10 small businesses failing within 10 years of getting started, the odds of a small business succeeding are very small even in good times. And right now things couldn't be worse, with small businesses going bankrupt at a faster rate than at any time since the Great Depression of the 1930's.

From the statistics on business failures, it also appears that few in business remain business people all their lives. Rather than a first-step into big business, small business usually functions as a revolving door back into the working class from which most failed entrepreneurs have started out, generally worse off than when they began.

At the same time that capitalists are plowing under an ever greater number of small-business people through monopolistic pricing, heavy-handed competition and mergers, their dependence on small businesspeople has never been more complete. Politically, entrepreneurs do the brunt of the fighting (organizing, propagandizing, voting) for business, while the big capitalists, the corporate 500, like any general staff in time of war, stay safely out of the line of fire.

Ideologically, small business — even more than the existence of "free land" in the 19th century and the relatively easy access to higher education today — puts flesh on the idea of equality of opportunity, the core rationale on which democratic capitalism stand or falls. It is only because people believe that they really have a chance to become rich, respected and influential (the three tend to merge in our culture), that they can view their present setbacks as temporary and due to some personal failing or bad luck. No wonder most American workers cannot admit that they belong to the working class, whether white- or blue-collar, and that they have settled there for good.

What equality of opportunity actually amounts to today emerges more clearly — and truthfully — from the story of a young reporter who asked a leading capitalist how he made his fortune: "It was really quite simple," the capitalist answered. "I bought an apple for five cents, spent the evening polishing it, and sold it the next day for 10 cents. With this I bought two apples, spent the evening polishing them, and sold them for 20 cents. And so it went until I had amassed $1.60. It was then that my wife's father died and left us a million dollars."

Bertell Ollman is professor of political science at New York University and author of "Class Struggle is the Name of the Game: True Confessions of a Marxist Businessman."

ABROAD AT HOME

Dr. Pangloss Speaks

By Anthony Lewis

WASHINGTON — On Wednesday last President Reagan told reporters that the Lebanese Army was "well-trained and a better fighting force than the recent engagements . . . indicate." When he spoke, the Lebanese Army had been humiliatingly defeated by rebel forces and was disintegrating. Nearly half its soldiers, including most of those trained by American advisers, deserted.

Has there ever been an American President as detached from reality as Ronald Reagan? He can preside over a disastrous policy, look at the resulting wreckage and smile happily. It is spooky. But it is also something else: a crucial part of his political magic.

Americans are by nature optimists. We conquered a continent. We escaped history, in a sense — all the European encumbrances of class and rank. Or so we have been taught. We believe in progress. We believe in happy endings.

Optimism, then, is the way to the hearts of the American electorate. At the worst of times Franklin Roosevelt uplifted us with a smile. Jimmy Carter guaranteed his own ineffectuality when he told us we were suffering from malaise.

Experts puzzle over the reasons for Ronald Reagan's amazing political success. But I am increasingly convinced that there is a simple explanation: cheerfulness. He is amiable in manner, or at least appears to be, no matter what the circumstances. And he has a sure understanding of the political fact that his people want to hear good news: "America is standing tall."

What is so special about the Reagan brand of cheer is the way he manages to distance himself from responsibility when things go wrong. It is as if he were a constitutional monarch: a king who reigns but does not rule, who performs as a symbol to his people while politicians do the dirty work of governing.

He campaigned for the Presidency as a critic of Federal budget deficits. In office he has created the largest deficits in history. The figures are frightening to most economists, to Wall Street, to America's allies and friends around the world. They are the direct results of Mr. Reagan's policies, in particular the massive increase in military spending while reducing taxes.

How does Mr. Reagan deal with the grim reality of his budget deficits? He acts as if it had nothing to do with him. When he sent his Economic Report to Congress earlier this month, he said the deficits expected over the rest of this decade "are totally unacceptable to me." It was as if someone else were in charge.

Irresponsibility is the price paid for optimism of Mr. Reagan's kind, disengaged from reality. And it is a heavy price. The premise of any democratic system, Presidential or parliamentary, is that those elected to govern are responsible for what happens, good and bad. They are not figurehead monarchs.

The great question in the politics of 1984 is whether the opposition will be able to bring home to Ronald Reagan responsibility for the failures of policy that litter the landscape: Lebanon, budget deficits, Central America, the arms race . . .

The President is confident that most voters will not connect him with the disastrous results of his policies. His political calculus, David Broder of The Washington Post observed the other day, "is that voters are unable to link cause and effect. . . . He is betting, in short, that most people's minds are like his own, heavily responsive to symbol and almost immune to logic."

The polls indicate that so far he continues to ride serenely above reality. That is a source of great frustration to Democrats and others worried about the direction of the country. It is a cliché of conversation now that Mr. Reagan is unbeatable. But I think that is just as foolish a notion as the old belief of Democrats in California that it would be easy to beat a movie actor.

After all, optimism disengaged from reality is dangerous. When Dr. Pangloss said "All's for the best in this best of all possible worlds," Candide believed and was happy. But the point of Voltaire's tale is that Candide followed the good doctor's fatuous advice and was reduced to misery.

People do understand the danger. And I think that underneath their happy response to Mr. Reagan there is an uneasy awareness that his good cheer may be hollow.

In an essay recently on how Mr. Reagan does his job, Time magazine said he "can be eerily detached, oblivious. He does not know where most of his closest advisers sit. . . . Reagan's curiosity, even after three years at the epicenter of events, seems stunted. . . . In a meeting with a foreign leader last year, he pulled out and read from the wrong 4-by-6 cue cards."

If it matters that a President know something about his job and be responsible for his policies, this one is vulnerable.

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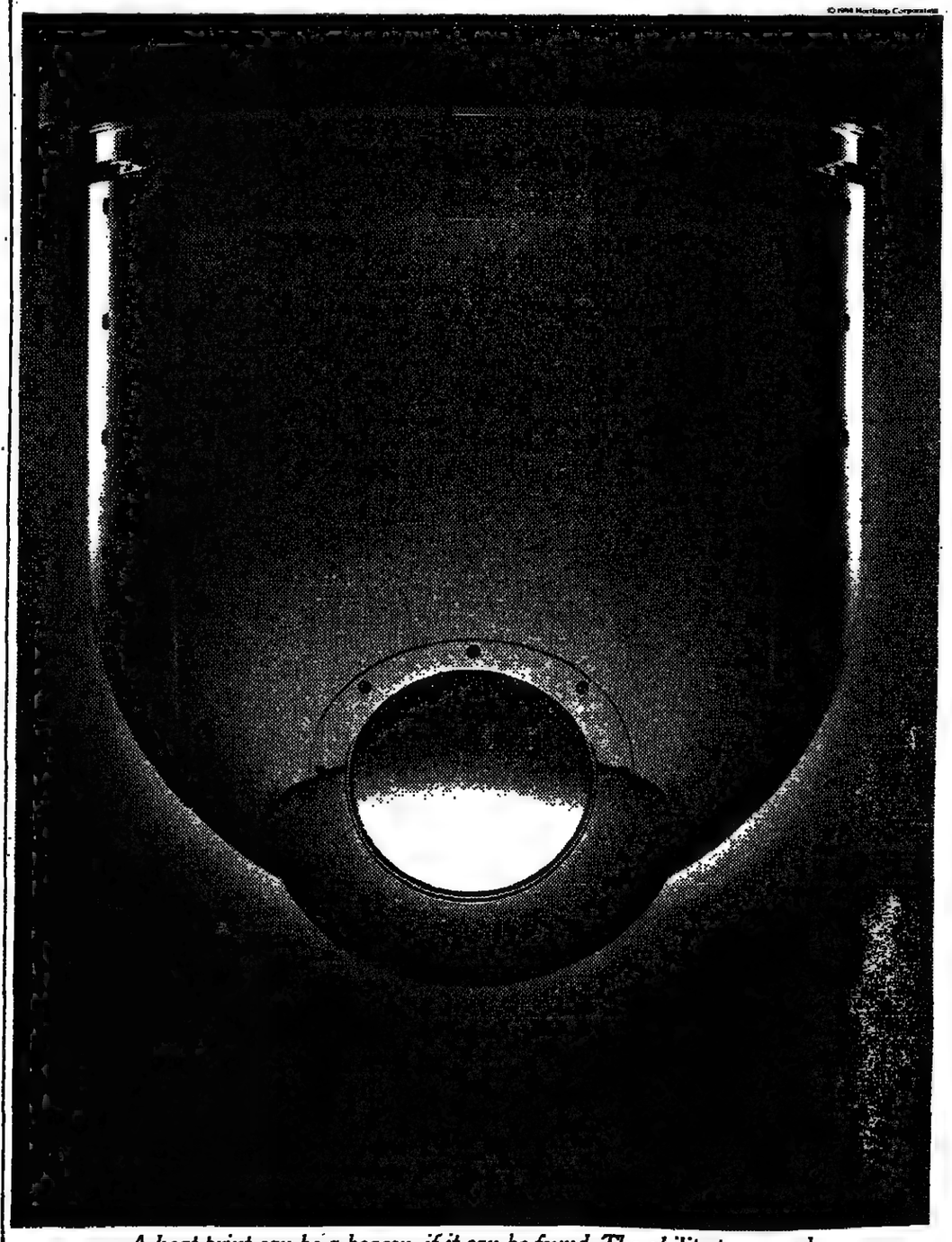

A heat-print can be a beacon, if it can be found. The ability to see and interpret heat-prints in total darkness is the idea behind the Forward Looking InfraRed night vision system developed by the Electro-Mechanical Division of Northrop Corporation. Mounted on the chin of a helicopter, one FLIR system in use by the U.S. Coast Guard already has been credited with saving lives that otherwise could have been lost at sea.

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'Serious' Art and Serious Theater

Arts & Leisure

By FRANK RICH

Of all the ills that plague the American theater right now, none is more disturbing than the widespread perception that American plays simply do not matter anymore. There was a time when writers like O'Neill and Williams and Miller were at the center of this country's intellectual life — when a major play on Broadway was as fit a subject for universal comment and debate, pro or con, as the latest major novel or museum show or ballet. These days, theater is a special interest, occupying a ghetto on the cultural landscape. While the fluffiest Broadway entertainments are consumed by the masses (or at least the wealthiest masses), serious American theater is followed by a far smaller coterie — and is often either ignored or viewed with contempt by the general public and the arts-minded elite alike.

A theater critic discovers this when he encounters old friends, who are sure to boast that they haven't been to a play (the current hit musical or English import excepted) since "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" But one doesn't need such statistically skewed polling methods to discern what's going on. In most general-interest or literary periodicals, theater is written about, if it's written about at all, by theater critics only, in the parochial theater columns. One could scour the pages of some learned journals for months to find a reference to a living American playwright (the auteurs of movies fare far better); in collections of literary essays — such as John Updike's recent "Hugging the Shore" — the names of American playwrights never surface in discussions of American novelists who often share the same concerns as those playwrights. If Mr. Updike doesn't see or read American plays these days, it would be unfair to fault him for this oversight. Public evidence suggests that many American writers of his stature — playwrights excepted — are no different. Even essayists who once examined new American plays (or wrote them) — writers like Susan Sontag, Elizabeth Hardwick, Gore Vidal or Mary McCarthy — have long since stopped caring. Perhaps the most extreme expression of this animus comes from the director and author Jonathan Miller, himself once a Broadway performer (in "Beyond the Fringe"), in a recently published interview. Asked "What importance does Broadway have to theater?," he replies: "I don't think Broadway matters at all. It's just a sewer. People don't go to Broadway to have serious theatrical experiences."

If the American theater no longer plays a central part in our cultural ferment, the reasons can only be damning. It must be assumed that we no longer have playwrights who write about issues that matter — or who connect with the rest of our literature, past and present — or who swim with the modernist and post-modernist currents of international art. But, as the theater's dwindling but hearty enthusiasts know well, this isn't the case at all.

Nonetheless, the perception persists, and to a great extent, it has been created by the plays that have been over-praised, over-attended and over-awarded — especially in the commercial theater and especially (though not exclusively) on Broadway. Much of what is most loudly acclaimed as serious theater in New York — and is then disseminated nationwide through regional and touring productions — isn't really serious at all.

In recent years, for instance, some of the most popular plays by American authors on Broadway have been works like "The Shadow Box," "Children of a Lesser God" and "The Elephant Man." Entertaining, well-acted, theatrical and (in the case of "Elephant Man") well-written as these plays can be, they are, in the end, plays that tell theatergoers little that they didn't know upon arriving at the theater. "The Shadow Box" — a Tony Award winner for best play, no less — was a drama that took an uncompromising stand in favor of the humanity of the terminally ill. "Children of a Lesser God" and "The Elephant Man" — also Tony Award winners — did the same for the deaf and the physiologically deformed. (The English equivalent of this play, also a Broadway hit, was "Whose Life Is It, Anyway?" — which pleaded for the dignity of the paralyzed.) Who could disagree with the point of view of any of these dramas? Far from raising any kind of debate — or touching an audience at any level deeper than the sentimental — these plays mainly succeeded in congratulating audiences on their own self-righteous piety.

Another popular kind of play that has passed for serious over the past decade is the one that celebrates antisocial behavior as a form of primal passion. The genesis of this kind of escapist play can be found in fashionable 60's pop culture (Ken Kesey, R. D. Laing), and its continued appeal is as retrograde as it is baffling. The Broadway prototype is an English hit — "Equus," in which a boy who blinds horses is held up as a paragon of spirituality in a world full of unfeeling rationalists. "Agnes of God," which ran a season on Broadway and has since spawned two national road companies, made the same case for a nun who gave birth to and then murdered a baby, and "Extremities," last year's commercial Off Broadway hit, came perilously close to making a similar claim for a rapist. The reductio ad absurdum of these dramas — and unaccountably a fast Broadway failure — was last season's "Total Abandon," which asked us to cry for a father who fatally, if soulfully, bashed his young son against a wall.

It's not hard to see why most of these plays are produced or why they are popular. The commercial theater is in business to produce what sells, and what sells is what's most pleasing (and familiar) to the largest common denominator. That common denominator is now defined by television drama — and television drama can even be produced at the non-commercial, supposedly serious regional theaters that are supposed to be alternatives to Broadway. "Extremities" and "Agnes of God" originated at Louisville's Actors' Theater; "Children of a Lesser God" and "The Shadow Box" at the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles.

By television drama, I refer specifically to those socially conscious made-for-TV movies that now frequently dominate the Nielsen ratings. Plays like "The Shadow Box" and "Agnes of God" are serious in the same way that TV movies like "Something About Amelia" and "The Day After" are serious. They take big, headline issues (incest, nuclear war) and reduce them to simple, unassailable, uncontroversial messages. "The Day After" says that nuclear war is bad; "The Shadow Box" says that cancer is bad. Often this message is defined by a social worker, psychiatrist or lawyer — and, indeed, these professions are prominently featured in most of these works, much as homily-spouting clergymen dominated middlebrow drama of other eras.

Aside from their open-and-shut intellectual simplicity, the great fallacy that underlies these dramas is the notion that the mere mention of a social issue gives a work of art a claim to importance. And this fallacy is not only shared by the producers who mount these plays, but sometimes by playwrights who know better. Lanford Wilson, one of the best American dramatists around — and one who might well be talked about by literary critics in the same breath as Anne Tyler or Ann Beattie — made nuclear poisoning an issue in two recent plays ("A Tale Told," "Angels Fall"). Yet in both instances that concern, however pressing and passionately held, surfaced as a gratuitous plot device that was forcefed into the real tales Mr. Wilson wanted to tell. (By contrast, Mr. Wilson's masterwork about the Vietnam era, "Fifth of July," made the war an organic aspect of the characters' shared lives.) Even an accomplished entertainer like Neil Simon has felt compelled to inject cancer, the World War II holocaust and the Depression into such recent plays as "Chapter Two" and "Brighton Beach Memoirs." Neither of those works seems as spontaneous or heartfelt as "The Odd Couple," a flat-out comedy about poker and divorce.

There are no signposts in Sam Shepard's plays.

The truly serious plays in the American theater now — many of which have minor runs on Broadway, if they make it to Broadway at all — may well deal with social issues, but the issues bubble to the surface instead of being plastered on top like posters. The best plays, as always, arise not from the agenda of journalism or politics, but from the private agenda of the writer's sensibility. If that writer's feelings are connected to the ideas and social currents of the world around him, his plays may ultimately tell us more about a society — and the anxiety-making public issues that riddle that society — than those plays that wear cancer or nuclear radiation on their sleeves. And, as often as not, these serious plays are funny. Rising out of the old, unpretentious Jewish family jokes in Wendy Wasserstein's "Isn't It Romantic" is an agonized dissection of the difficult choices made by two generations of American women (both Jewish and WASP); in Jules Feiffer's "Grown Ups," the same jokes explode into a scathing assault on the American success ethic.

Tom Stoppard makes the case for such writers at the beginning of Act II of "The Real Thing," when his playwright-hero, Henry, argues against polemical plays. Instead of writing plays that specifically address such matters as "politics" and "justice," Henry argues that writers should write personal plays that "perhaps alter people's perceptions so that they behave a little differently at that axis of behavior where we locate politics or justice." (It's unfortunate that Mr. Stoppard then undercuts his own argument by launching a stacked polemical attack against a polemical playwright who figures as a minor character in "The Real Thing.") Mr. Stoppard's point is also made by Sam Shepard in his few published essays. Noting that he was affected strongly by the social currents of the Vietnam years, Mr. Shepard then adds that none of the specific detritus of that era now remains a part of his creative life except "the idea of consciousness." And it's that consciousness that is the wellspring of his work: "Ideas emerge from plays," he explains, "not the other way around."

It has never been any different, even in the plays of Brecht or Shaw. To believe otherwise is to think that Ibsen wrote "Ghosts" because he wanted to address the question of syphilis, or that Williams wrote "The Glass Menagerie" because he wanted to speak about poverty during the 1930's, or that Beckett's "Endgame" was motivated by rising anxiety about the H-bomb in Europe during the late 1950's. The best writers write what they are burning to write, not what they're told to write or what they think they should write. It's television writers, whether writing for the networks or the theater, who begin with the concrete "idea" (or, in Hollywood lingo, "concept") — whether that idea be "nuclear holocaust" or "Love Boat" — and then work from the outside in.

Serious American playwrights who let their ideas emerge from their plays are rarely celebrated at the Tony Awards or in the long-run record books. Marsha Norman's "'Night, Mother," which closes next weekend after a decent but unspectacular Broadway life, might have been a major hit if the author had turned it into a TV-style problem play. If only the heroine, Jessie, were a paraplegic or had been raped or wanted to be a martyr to a political cause, audiences would have immediately understood her intention to commit suicide.

In this sense, Jessie's mother represents the television audience's sensibility: she thinks she can talk Jessie out of suicide by solving all of the daughter's personal "problems" and by getting rid of the television and newspapers that trumpet the outside world's crises. But Miss Norman — through Jessie — gives neither the audience nor the mother the easy way out. The daughter tells Mama: "It doesn't much matter what else happens in the world or in this house, even" — and persists in her intention to kill herself.

Like Miss Norman, David Mamet, Charles Fuller ("A Soldier's Play") and Christopher Durang (among others) march to their own beat rather than address "problems" per se. Mr. Durang's "Sister Mary Ignatius" is written as a personal vendetta against an authoritarian nun teaching at a Catholic school and mentions such "issues" as cancer, rape and homosexuality along its way. But these issues are just pebbles carried by the wave of the author's consciousness — which is most of all grappling with a fundamental question that underlies all those issues, the existence (or non-existence) of God. That question is not resolved at the final curtain.

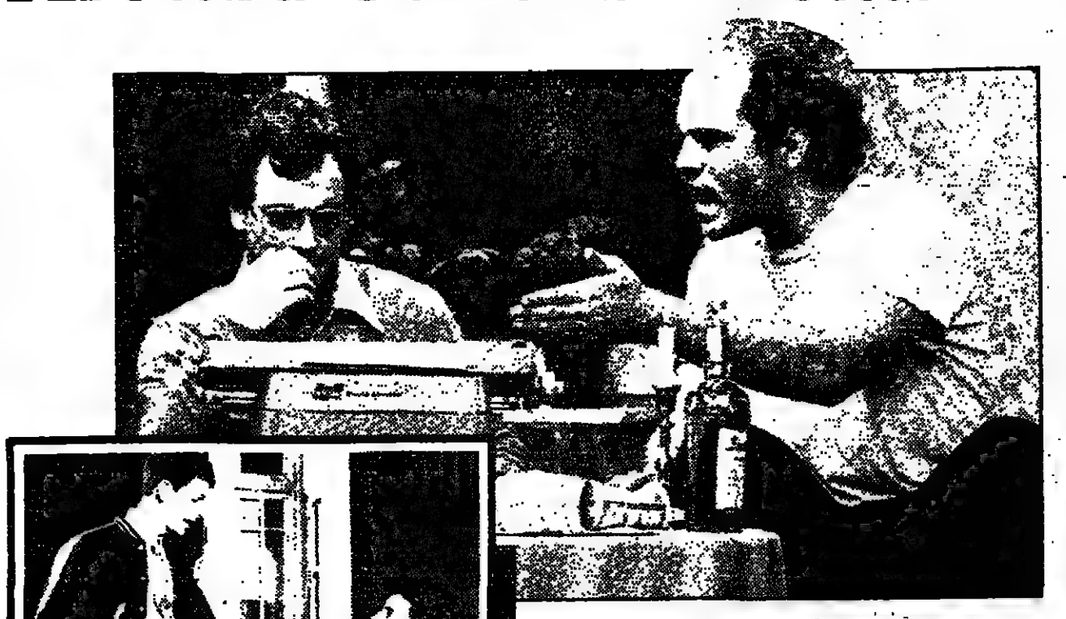
Needless to say, Mr. Durang, Mr. Feiffer and Mr. Mamet have never had a hit on Broadway (though Mr. Mamet's "American Buffalo" made it in revival, when it was warped into a star vehicle for Al Pacino.) If these writers weren't American, it would help: Non-American writers of their caliber, such as Mr. Stoppard, David Hare or Athol Fugard, have fared somewhat better in the commercial theater, even if for the wrong reasons. What's more outrageous, however, is that Sam Shepard has never even been produced on Broadway at all.

One can see why: he's frightening. There are absolutely no easily legible, television-drama signposts for an audience at a play like "True West." Two brothers, one an aspiring Hollywood screenwriter and the other a petty criminal, fight each other to a standoff for two raucous acts. Though no explicit social issue is grafted onto their battle — as the Depression is grafted onto the relationship of the two brothers in "Brighton Beach Memoirs" — the play concerns almost everything that plagues Americans: money, power, a search for identity in a world made of plastic, a search for self in the midst of spiritual chaos.

Mr. Shepard, as much as any contemporary American playwright, gives our theater its claim to seriousness and its connection to other art. "True West" — in which events don't necessarily symbolize anything and characters don't necessarily have logical motives or represent clearcut points-of-view — is as modernist a work as anyone could wish. Mr. Shepard's writing is fragmented and at times beyond exegesis: who can precisely explain why the brothers' mother arrives late in the play, insistent in her conviction that Picasso (though dead) is visiting Los Angeles? The author is so resistant to the notion of attaching easily explicable editorial labels on his people that he pointedly notes in his stage directions that "the costumes should be exactly representative of who the characters are and not added onto for the sake of making a point to the audience." (This language is echoed by Miss Norman, whose published text of "'night, Mother" instructs, "Under no circumstances should the set and its dressing make a judgment about the intelligence or taste of Jessie and Mama.")

"True West" is also a decidedly American work — the brothers could almost be Tom and Huck, torn between freedom (the true West) and civilization as they straddle an eroding frontier. Even Mr. Shepard's language and structure fulfill William Dean Howells's admiring appraisal of Twain. "He was not enslaved to the consecutiveness in writing which the rest of us try to keep chained to," wrote Howells of his friend. "That is, he wrote as he thought, and as all men think, without sequence, without an eye to what went before or should come after."

It's quite possible that Mr. Shepard will never be produced on Broadway — and one had begun to fear that he might never come to the attention of audiences who had given up on Broadway and, with it, given up on the American theater. But the cause isn't lost yet. Mr. Shepard, again like Twain, has another career in addition to writing — as a performer. And, thanks to his emergence as a movie star, a wider audience is being lured to his plays. "The Right Stuff," by indirection, may be the best thing to happen to the American theater in a while: it has no doubt lengthened the runs of "True West" and "Fool for Love" Off Broadway, just as it has made Mr. Shepard's published work fly off the shelves of bookstores.



CHARACTER vs. EASY LABELS

Above, Gary Sinise and John Malkovich in Sam Shepard's "True West." At left, J. Patrick Breen and Matthew Broderick in Neil Simon's "Brighton Beach Memoirs."

Martha Swope

Swoosie Kurtz and Richard Thomas in Lanford Wilson's "Fifth of July"—a masterwork about the Vietnam era

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View from Sidon

By A.E. NORDEN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A LEADER of the Shi'ite "Amal" organization in southern Lebanon says that if the IDF leave all of Lebanon soon, the local people will see to it that the PLO does not return to the area and resume firing and raiding across the international border. But if Israel insists on staying in any part of Lebanon for any reason, then a revived PLO might be given shelter by these same Lebanese.

Mohammed Ghadder, a businessman in Sidon and a member of the Amal central committee, told a reporter recently that what turns the Lebanese in the region most effectively against Israel is the collective punishment applied following attacks on IDF troops. He mentioned the closing to traffic of the Awali River bridges and the uprooting of fruit trees along the coastal road. Such acts make for "hatred," he said.

But he also said that even if the Israeli presence had not become onerous, there would be resistance to it, since "south Lebanon isn't Sinai — we have a history of resistance to occupation." He dated the beginning of the occupation, and thus of the resistance to it, to May of last year, when the Lebanese-Israeli proto-peace treaty was signed. Before this, the IDF could still be regarded as the army which freed the Lebanese from the PLO and would soon withdraw. After the treaty, and after the retrenchment to the Awali line, Ghadder said, the IDF started to look like a foreign army whose departure depended on another foreign army — Syria's — leaving first.

GHADDER HAS praise for Israeli Orientalists recruited by the IDF to mend fences with the Shi'ites. These academics are "nice, intelligent, well-meaning." But he adds that they seem to have no power. The Israeli decisions on the daily treatment of the population are not made by them, nor do the Orientalists determine Israeli long-term planning.

Asked what he thinks Israel is up to, Ghadder said that he suspected that the Israelis are "hungry for more land." Accordingly, Israel would like to annex a portion of Lebanon, while also encouraging the permanent break-up of the country into small, competing cantons for each of its communal groups. These then could be played off one against the other, presumably to Israel's benefit.

In Ghadder's opinion, the Israelis are now searching for someone to run a Shi'ite canton with Israel's interests uppermost in mind and with no objection to the redrawing of the border. This search, the Amal official says, is in vain. If Ghadder faults the Israelis for one thing more than others, it does not seem to be for their harshness or insincerity, but for what he calls their slowness to learn what Lebanon and its Shi'ites are about.

The Lebanese Shi'ites under Israeli occupation, he declares, will not rest until the last Israeli soldier goes home. Then, and only then, will the Shi'ites in eastern Lebanon turn their attention to the Syrians.

Mozart well served

OPERA/Yohanan Boehm

THE MAGIC FLUTE, opera by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, presented by the Cologne City Opera. Sir John Pritchard conducting the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. Staged and designed by Jean-Pierre Ponnelle (Mann Auditorium, Tel Aviv, February 18). Matthias Hoelle (Sarastro), David Kuebler (Tamino), Janice Hall (Pamina), Ulrike Sreleisky (Queen of the Night), Christian Boesch (Papageno), Angelika Luz (Papagena), Erlingur Vigfusson (Monostatos); the Three Ladies: Elena Dumitrescu, Marijke Hendriks, Ingrid Mayr; Thomas Thomaschke (Speaker), Hubert Moehler, Klaus Bruch (Priests); Eberhard Katz, Francisco Vergara (Armoured Men); the Three Boys: Cedric Rossdeutscher, Christian Immler, Barbara Schmidt-Gaden. Priests, Slaves, Attendants: the Rinat National Choir, the Rubin Academy Chamber Choir, Jerusalem, Cameran Singers, directed by Stanley Sperber; Animal Apparitions: Pa'amonim Children's Choir, directed by Eliat Junger.

THOUGH this was a fully-staged production, one had to forgo demands for elaborate stage decorations and props, normally prerequisite for this opera, providing plenty of opportunities for technicians and producers to represent Egyptian temples, forests, thunder and lightning, fire and water effects. Jean-Pierre Ponnelle solved these problems by offering only spare indications of the expected props, letting the audience add missing details from memory or imagination. As the opera is full of symbols, it is quite legitimate that the producer added a few tongue-in-cheek inventions of his own, causing some indulgent or happy smiles among the *cognoscenti*.

Another big problem is the spoken text, which ponderously propels the action forward in slow motion. Even for those who understand German (and could probably savour the Viennese or Bavarian German of some of the cast), it was slow going. But cutting dialogue is not advisable, and we have to put up with this aspect indulgently.

The singing was generally on a high level, without stars, but fully competent, and some were even better than that. Quite clearly, Christian Boesch as Papageno stole the show with his lively acting and controlled clowning. Throughout he was the life of the party. The Queen of the Night mastered her two tremendously difficult arias fairly well though one could feel the great effort and care with which she warbled her highest notes. Space does not permit more detailed assessment of all parts and voices, but some require special mention. The Three Ladies were excellent, and almost as good were the Three Boys, all looking like little Mozarts. The three (in fact two boys and a girl, of the children's choir of Bad Toelz in Bavaria) sang most beautifully.

THE CHORUS fulfilled its various tasks most satisfactorily, and the orchestra, of course, was excellent (whatever could be heard from my seat in the hall, Row Five Centre). It seemed to me that Sir John Pritchard led the proceedings authoritatively though sometimes a bit more forward movement would have been easier on the singers and might have helped to speed up the action in general. But with so much good singing, Mozart was served well, and the overall impression was definitely positive.

The "Egyptian connection" was abandoned by the producer, apart from some fragments of pillars standing around. The costumes were more or less copied from the original Schikaneder production of 1791, the ladies coming straight from the imperial court of Vienna, and the males clad accordingly. The members of the Masonic Order looked more like Knights of the Order of St. George (only without crosses on their mantles).

For the children, there was a huge dragon in the opening scene, exaggerated beyond normal proportions, perhaps, to demonstrate the producer's original (tongue-in-cheek?) contribution. The four lions were very sweet and funny (with credits in the programme only for three).

Mozart's *Magic Flute* is an improbable combination of several completely contrary styles, and the continuous switching from the serious and dramatic to the comic and lighthearted has produced more learned essays than any other opera in existence. It is, and will remain, a singular masterpiece despite weaknesses. Israel's lack of an opera company is an oft-discussed subject, and expensive experiments in recent years have led nowhere. This visit of the Cologne City Opera, on the commendable initiative of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, provides much food for thought, and, one hopes, a lesson for our professionals in this field.

Culture called 'secure' despite budget cuts

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Artistic and cultural institutions will not be threatened with closure because of the budget cuts, Arts and Culture Council chairman Avner Shalev announced yesterday.

He said the "ceiling" of cuts would be 8 per cent, but institutions which need money to pay artists and writers will have their budgets cut by no more than 5 or 6 per cent.

Budgets to encourage original works, and to disseminate art and culture to outlying areas through Omanut Le'am (Art for the People), will not be cut significantly.

Bezalel Graduate's Award for graphic designer

Bezalel-trained graphic designer Dan Reisinger is to receive the academy's Graduate's Award this afternoon at a reception at Beit Hanassi under the patronage of Mrs. Aura Herzog.

Reisinger was born in Yugoslavia in 1934 and was graduated from Bezalel in 1954. His many works of graphic design have been shown in galleries here and in Europe and the U.S.

A Reisinger poster

Voice for Israel in Sweden

By NORM GUTHARTZ/Special to The Jerusalem Post

"THE MOST dangerous anti-Semitism was in the 1930s, when the Nazis wanted to make Europe *Judenrein*. Now, the world wants to be '*Judenstaatrein*'," said Per Ahlmark, a former leader of the Liberal Party (*Folkpartiet*) of Sweden.

The right of the Jewish people to their own country has been an important concern of Ahlmark's since 1967, when he visited Israel for the first time. Today, he is one of the leading supporters of Israel in Swedish public life — even since leaving politics a few years ago — as a journalist, poet and private citizen.

Ahlmark, 44, was a member of the *Riksdagen*, Sweden's parliament, from 1967, chairman of the Liberal Party from 1975 and labour minister and vice prime minister from 1976. He left it all behind in 1978.

Now he is a columnist for Sweden's leading evening newspaper, *Expressen*, and a poet — his third book of poetry including some works about Israel, is being prepared for publication in Sweden.

Ahlmark said he feels a special closeness to the land and the people of Israel, though he has publicly disagreed with some of the policies pursued by the Likud governments.

While Sweden has a fairly active Jewish community of 16,000 — half of whom live in and around Stockholm — Ahlmark, a non-Jew, at times finds himself several steps ahead of it in protesting against the alarming rise of pro-Palestine Liberation Organization and anti-Jewish sentiment, particularly in the Swedish media.

"I have Jewish friends who share my convictions," Ahlmark said during an interview at his home. "Sometimes I feel the Jewish community is too mild in its reaction to anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic statements. They just have to fight back. If they fight back against the enemies of Israel, they sometimes back down.

"They must try to encourage Jews and other friends of Israel in the Swedish debate." The most effective way to do that, he said, is for the Jewish community to enter the debate strongly. In recent years, the community's voice has become stronger and more assured.

ISRAEL ENJOYED a positive image in Sweden before the Six-Day War, but the ensuing rise of the Arab propaganda war eventually led to the romanticization of the PLO. Today, the PLO has an office in Stockholm, though it does not have any formal status with the government, and enjoys the support of not only leftist students, but other Swedes.

The dominant Social Democratic Party, apparently in an effort to secure the support of the increasingly left-leaning young in the late 1960s, became outspokenly critical of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Its increasingly pro-PLO stance could well be the result of a similar move to keep the support of anti-Israel radicals.

This was coupled with the rise in negative reporting about Israel. The situation worsened with the Lebanon war, as blatantly anti-Semitic characterizations of Jews and Judaism started finding their way into the mainstream Swedish press.

In addition, approximately 175,000 Swedes signed a petition in 1983 urging the Swedish government to sever diplomatic relations with Israel and to officially recognize the PLO.

The trend reached a peak with the April visit to Stockholm of PLO leader Yasser Arafat, at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party. In contrast, Israeli Labour Party leader Shimon Peres had his invitation from the Social Democrats for the 1982 May Day celebration retracted by then-opposition and now-Prime Minister Olof Palme. Palme claimed that no guarantees could be made for Peres' safety. The following year, Arafat and the five-person, armed entourage with which he visited Stockholm enjoyed the benefit of more than $133,000 worth of security.

In the face of the changing atmosphere in the late 1960s, Ahlmark started answering the anti-Israel chorus in Sweden, all the while encouraging the Jewish community to join him. It has taken some coaxing and the community has a way to go before it becomes as outspoken as the communities of the U.S., France and England. However, there is a strong identification with Israel — especially among young Jews — and Arafat's visit was met with demonstrations by the Jewish community and its supporters.

AHLMARK'S involvement with Israel started after the Six-Day War — though as a youth, he read about and became emotionally involved in the Holocaust. He wrote a book with two co-authors called in Swedish, *The Hatred Against Israel*, published in 1970. The book followed his trip through Israel, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. "I found a combination of hatred and illusions. You can call it lies. The hatred was profound." He found it in discussions with cabinet members in Damascus, and PLO leaders and King Hussein in Amman. Hitler had "only" killed 2 million Jews, he was told.

"I took part in discussions (on the Middle East) in papers, radio and TV, universities, etc. I was a member of parliament, at that time in the opposition," Ahlmark said. "Palme embraced the Syrian prime minister and Arab dictators.

"I became party leader (of the Liberals) in 1975. I made Israel part of the (party) platform in 1976. I think a lot of people agreed. It was important, especially now that anti-Semitism has grown in Europe."

ANTI-SEMITISM, in its different shapes and locations, has been another major concern of Ahlmark's. As a member of the Council of Europe, he wrote two reports on the plight of Soviet Jews. The first, completed in 1974, was translated into 15 languages and the second, published in 1977, was used by the council to increase Jewish emigration from the USSR.

He has also worked for the cause of freeing Syrian Jews, as well as challenging the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe.

In an international tribunal on anti-Semitism, held in June in Oslo, Norway, Ahlmark spoke of the growth of anti-Semitism in Sweden, particularly in the Swedish press. Letters to the editor that are overtly anti-Semitic have started finding their way into the pages of daily newspapers and magazines — unthinkable at any other time since the end of World War II.

Ahlmark pointed out to the tribunal that the problem extends to the writings of regular contributors. The examples are many:

Claes Engstrom, writing in the leading Social Democratic morning newspaper, *Arbetet*, claimed, "Children are murdered because the Jewish people was persecuted through the centuries by the Christians in Europe. Evil comes back ... Human beings are of no importance. The only people that counts is the chosen people." (June 17, 1982)

The Labour Union Federation-owned evening newspaper, *Aftonbladet*, in its June 17, 1982, edition, used a six-year-old photograph of Lebanese civil war victims, purporting that it had been taken during the Israeli incursion into Lebanon. A headline over the photo read, "Genocide in Lebanon; They (Lebanese and Palestinians) Are Threatened With Holocaust."

The most blatant example, however, was the publication of an article in the magazine of the Swedish printers union, which said, "Judaism even commands its own chosen people to commit genocide" and strives after a crude world domination."

A newspaper later revealed that the author of the article was a well-known Stockholm right-winger, writing under an assumed name.

In spite of this fact, no action was taken against the author of the publication, *Grafia*, under the Swedish law prohibiting publication of racist viewpoints.

Taken together, it all seems to mark the return of the myth of Jewish world domination, the blood libel and the view that Jews are expendable. Yet, Ahlmark told the tribunal what he found particularly alarming was that tolerance towards anti-Semitism had increased dramatically in Sweden since 1982.

AHLMARK HAS been to Israel more than 20 times since 1967 and has developed contacts — mainly with the Labour Party, though also with Likud — and many friendships, as well. "I feel more at home there than almost any place else in the world, except Sweden," he said during the interview.

He disagrees with the policies of the Likud government, considers the settlements on the West Bank to be a "most unwise move" and is worried about the impact that occupation has on the country.

Yet, his admiration for the country and its people is unmistakable. "The unique thing (about Israel) is: here is a government at war or under the threat of war for 35 years," he said. "All this time, Israel has maintained its democratic institutions. This is something unique. Nations facing annihilation have always done away with their democratic institutions. It is a very civilian society, in many respects an anti-militaristic society."

Ahlmark believes — and has believed since writing his book on Israel 14 years ago — that a federation between a demilitarized West Bank and Jordan is the best framework for building peace and meeting Palestinian demands for self-determination. The main obstacle to that happening has been the Arab leadership — both in Jordan and the PLO.

"The PLO is the worst enemy of the Palestinians," Ahlmark said. "The Palestinians have always had bad leaders" and he singled out the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Haj Amin al-Husseini, Shukeiry and Arafat. "Arafat is trying to survive as a leader without leading (his people). They (the PLO) are killing, they are blackmailing other Arab countries and sabotaging the Palestinians' hope for statehood."

MANY SWEDES have been taken in by the propaganda, "but there is another Sweden," Ahlmark declared at the meeting to protest Arafat's visit in April. "There is a Sweden that is sick and tired of all of our concessions to Arab dictators and Palestinian terrorists...

"Anti-Semitism starts with the Jews, but it never ends with the Jews. It attacks democratic values and institutions."

After a centuries-long history of persecuting the Jews, Ahlmark believes, "the whole of Europe has a responsibility to the Jewish people. I can never escape from that conviction. We are never to let (a Holocaust) happen again, anywhere, anytime."

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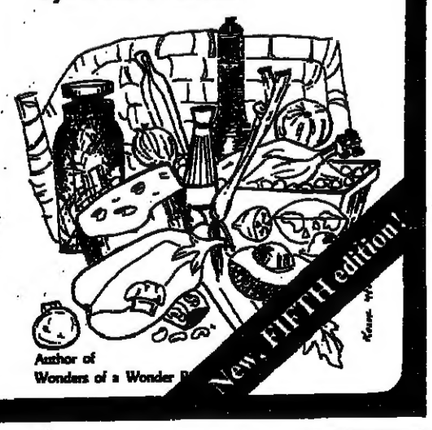

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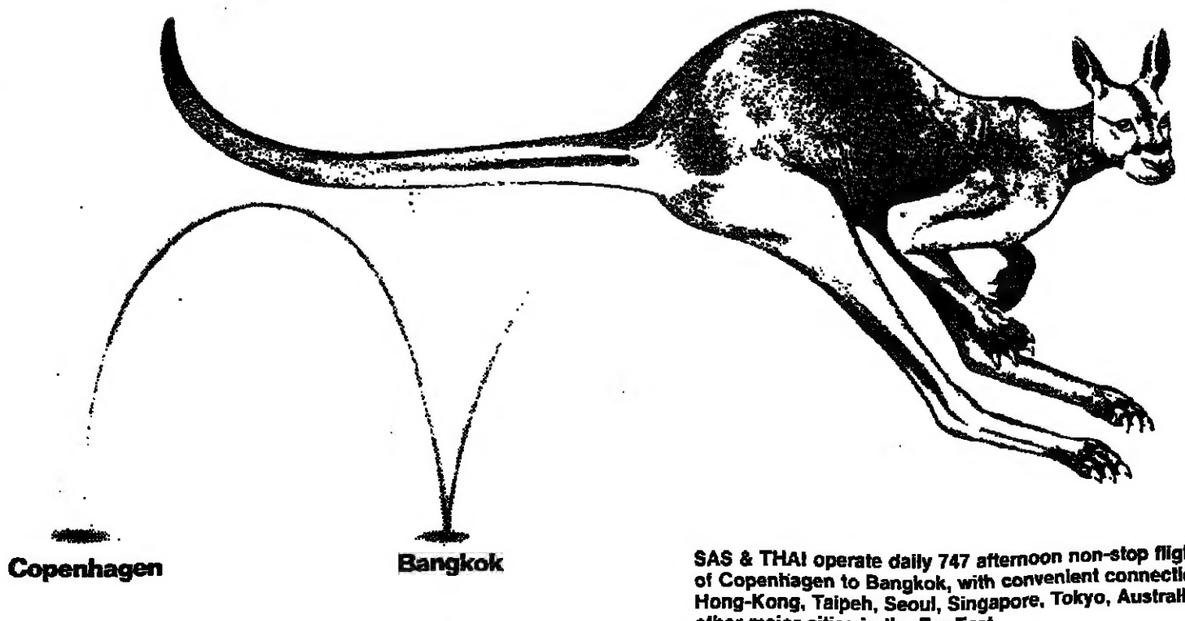

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$18 million cash deal with Mizrahi Bank

Eisenberg buys 17% of Israel Corp.

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Eisenberg group became the largest shareholder in the Israel Corporation over the weekend when it paid $18 million for the 17 per cent of the shares held by the Mizrahi group.

After this acquisition, the Eisenberg group now holds 47-48 per cent of the shares of the Israel Corporation. Another 20 per cent are held by the Hapoalim group; and 17 per cent by IDB Development through its Israel-European Company Isrop, in which Baron Edmond de Rothschild has a controlling interest. The rest of the shares are scattered and traded on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. The exchange was officially informed of the transaction yesterday.

A spokesman for the Eisenberg group said yesterday that "during our negotiations with the Mizrahi group we kept the other two large shareholders, Hapoalim and IDB Development fully informed, and we have reached agreement on their full cooperation in the future."

Thus, even if the Eisenberg group does not have 51 per cent of the shares, it has assumed a leadership position in the Israel Corporation, which it will probably strengthen further by acquiring more shares on the stock market.

The spokesman also said that "our present plans call for revitalizing the corporation, and perhaps we will make some more acquisitions. No changes in personnel are planned and it is hoped that Baron de Rothschild will stay on as chairman." Other sources in Tel Aviv said yesterday that they doubted very much that the baron would remain as chairman.

The Israel Corporation's main holdings are: 50 per cent of Zim; 26 per cent of the Oil Refineries; 100 per cent of the Tiberias Plaza hotel; 50 per cent of the Jerusalem Plaza hotel; 37.5 per cent of Spectron ix; 100 per cent of Northern Cold Storage and 50 per cent of Elram (construction).

The actual purchase, which was in cash, was made by Westmere S.A., of Panama, a member of the Eisenberg group. Since Westmere is a foreign firm, the deal does not require the approval of the Finance Ministry. Moreover, as a foreign firm, it will enjoy considerable tax benefits.

Last year Clal tried to buy Mizrahi's 17 per cent share in the Israel Corporation, offering $28m. The Finance Ministry at the time specified that if the transaction went through Clal would not enjoy the tax benefits enjoyed by the corporation.

Clal sources said then their purchase was conditional on the stock exchange allowing it to float a new issue, which would permit the public to exchange its Israel Corporation shares for Clal shares within two years. Mizrahi at the time denied that there was a two-year provision in its agreement with Clal.

Clal insisted that there was, and pulled out of the deal.

This led the Mizrahi group to threaten legal action to force Clal to carry out the agreement. Some time ago the Mizrahi Bank even engaged the services of lawyer (and former Justice Minister) Shmuel Tamir. He has sent letters demanding the fulfilment of the agreement to Clal, to Bank Hapoalim (which holds 40 per cent of Clal); and to IDB (which holds 29 per cent of Clal).

Aharon Meir, general manager of Mizrahi (who with his two deputies, Michael Zvineri and Eli Unger) negotiated with the Eisenberg group, yesterday told *The Jerusalen Post* that "a decision to sue the three firms for breach of contract had been taken some time ago. However, we are still weighing our next step."

The Eisenberg negotiating team consisted of Shaul Eisenberg's three sons-in-law, Yigael Diamant, Meir Rosenfeld and Yonatan Zumovitzky, as well as Erwin Eisenberg (son of Shaul).

The actual transaction was not between Mizrahi Bank directly, but between its affiliates, United Mizrahi International Investments, which sold 60,959,394 ordinary "A" shares of one shekel nominal value and 1,106,897 ordinary "B" shares of five shekel nominal value; and Pama, which sold 86,909,856 ordinary "A" shares of one shekel nominal value, and 1,228,526 ordinary "B" shares of five shekels nominal value.

The opening bid of the Eisenberg group was $12m. Mizrahi countered with a demand for $28m. The two sides finally compromised on $18m.

U.S. family trio sold $148m. in one year

Life insurance star salesmen to confer here

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Six of the most successful life insurance brokers in the world, all from the U.S., are to lecture to their Israel colleagues at the three-day annual conference of the Israel Association of Insurance Brokers and Agents, which will take place in Jerusalem March 13 to 15. This was announced yesterday by Harold Stutzen, the chairman of the local association.

The "stars" include Ben Feldman, of East Liverpool, Ohio, considered the "world's greatest life insurance salesman." With his two sons, Rich and Marv he sold more than $148 million worth of coverage in 1982. However, last year the trio only sold $119m.

The six guests are members of the "Million Dollar Round Table." A requirement for membership is selling $2.5m. a year, and some 130 Israelis are members. Israel ranks seventh in membership as a country, but three Israelis at least sell between $12m. and $15m. a year. They are Ya'acov Cohen, Simon Wiesel and Oded Levy.

Statzen noted that despite the recession the purchase of life insurance by Israelis is steadily increasing. The average policy is between $15,000 and $20,000. "Many people were burnt badly by 'glamour investments' in the stock market, and they are becoming more conservative in their investments," he said.

Some 500 Israelis will attend the conference. Of these, 350 are agents and 150 are representatives of insurance companies.

Speaking about the income of an Israeli agent, Stutzen said that if he sold a policy worth $20,000, he got 60 per cent of the $500 annual premium, that is, $300. However, this was not paid in one lump sum, but 36 per cent the first year and 12 per cent in the second and third year. After this, he received four per cent of the premium collected as long as the policy was in force.

Citrus growers take desperate steps

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The situation in agriculture is going from bad to worse. Both private farmers and those affiliated to the Histadrut told *The Post* that they do not remember a crisis of such severity.

The farmers questioned put the blame mainly on high interest rates and low profitability. Because of this thousands of dunams of citrus groves were chopped down last year. Citrus farmers said that the number of trees that will be chopped down this year will be greater than last year.

The manager of a large citrus cooperative told *The Jerusalem Post* that the number of trees to be cut down this spring depends on the amount of money the government will pump into this industry. He is very pessimistic. The government promised money last year but only recently it has started paying some of these funds.

In a number of moshavim the situation is so bad that members are trying to sell their homesteads but find no buyers. Several years ago it was fashionable to buy a moshav homestead, build a villa and become a "gentleman" farmer. Today prices of a homestead have gone down considerably. In certain areas a homestead can be purchased for the price of a modest three-room apartment in the city — about $70,000.

A recent study by the Agriculture Ministry tends to substantiate the complaints of the farmers. According to it the farmers' average real income has dropped by 21.1 per cent, compared to the average real income of workers in all other branches during the past five years.

The study was made by Dr. Aryeh Sheskin, of the Rural Planning and Development Authority in the Agriculture Ministry.

He writes that about 25 per cent of the added value in agriculture goes to pay interest. Seven years ago, only about eight per cent of the added value in agriculture went for interest.

This increased burden of interest is the main cause of the large gap between the earnings of farmers and those of other workers.

Despite this wide earnings gap, farmers continued to lead the economy in productivity. Their productivity grew in the five years since 1978 by 42 per cent, while in other branches of the economy productivity increased by only five per cent, the report says.

Mizrahi to pay 4% monthly interest

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Mizrahi Bank yesterday announced that from March 1 it will pay monthly interest of four per cent on the average balance in checking accounts held by wage-earners whose cheques are atuomatically deposited in the bank.

However, the plan (the first of its kind) has several important qualifications: the monthly average balance must never fall below IS6,000; and the customer is limited to six withdrawals a month, including withdrawals from automatic teller machines.

Moreover, income tax of 40 per cent will have to be paid on the interest earned, although Mizrahi is now negotiating with the finance ministry to have interest payments exempt from tax.

"The plan has two aims," said Aharon Meir, general manager of the bank. "First, to attract more wage-earners to switch to Mizrahi; second, the limit of six withdrawals will help teach customers to plan their monthly budget better. They will write fewer cheques and make fewer withdrawals. This will help us reduce staff, and the savings can be passed on to customers in the form of interest."

Eli Unger, deputy general manager of Mizrahi, estimated that 35 per cent of the wage-earners who now use the bank would benefit from the plan. However, all wage-earners only contribute about ten per cent of the total sums passing through checking accounts. "At a later stage the new system may be extended to include customers who are not wage-earners."

The bank also increased the low-interest (10.5 per cent) overdraft offered wage-earners from IS16,000 to IS18,000.

Mishab in novel investment scheme

TEL AVIV. — The Mishab construction company is seeking to raise $8 to $10 million abroad by means of a scheme new to Israel. The company is offering for sale in the U.S. and Britain investment units priced at $100,000 each. This arrangement is meant for big-time private investors.

The minimum investment at this stage is $1m. for at least 10 units. Each unit will be linked to a specific project and grant revenue rights from the sale of the flats.

Mishab, for example, will begin the construction of 48 flats in the Nahlat Yitzhak area of Tel Aviv in two months. Each flat will be priced at $95,000 (not including Vat). The projected revenue is $4.56m. Those putting down $1m. for the ten investment units will be entitled to 27 per cent of flat sale revenue, or the sum of $1.23m. Investors will be entitled to trade investment units as they see fit.

An important component of the scheme is the bank guarantee assured by Mishab to cover the invested moneys. The guarantee will remain valid until construction is completed.

Price of sweet corn set

TEL AVIV. — An agreement has been reached between the growers of sweet corn and the canning industry. The price will be $142 per ton, compared to $130 last year.

In 1983 the farmers supplied about 75,000 tons of sweet corn for industry and this year a similar harvest is expected. The corn is grown in the Negev, the Golan Heights and in Emek Jezreel. More than 50,000 dunams are under cultivation.

DAMAGE. — The Har Meron nature reserve in Galilee has been damaged by persons who cut down trees for firewood, a reserve spokesman announced. He said the wood was apparently taken for home heating.

Your money & your questions

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

QUESTION: What do you think of the stock market rally?

ANSWER: The sharp gains since the beginning of January are no doubt impressive. But there are still many shares of export companies whose prices do not properly reflect their true profitability. No share market can go up all the time and there is room for profit-taking. However, the public holds substantial sums in *patam* savings and several savings schemes are due for pay-outs soon and index-linked bonds are coming due. These, together with the anticipated selective cancellation of the 2 per cent sales tax on securities, are some of the factors making for a further upward market.

QUESTION: Do you consider index-linked bonds a good investment at current levels?

ANSWER: A recent analysis by Securiteam compared the Bank of Israel's stabilization of index-linked bonds to the stabilization by the banks of their own shares. The comparison provides food for thought. Should the Bank of Israel, for whatever reason, stop its support, there is little doubt that index-linked bonds will take a sharp drop.

However, it should be pointed out that bank shares which are part of the agreement with the Treasury, *patam* accounts, and index-linked bonds all are only as good as the word of the government. In recent months the Treasury has gone to great efforts to reassure the public about the safety of *patam* accounts.

QUESTION: What is the difference between annual yield and yield to redemption?

ANSWER: Annual yield is the amount of income received from a bond expressed as a percentage of the cost of the bond. Yield to redemption includes the annual yield, taking into account that the bond will be held until redemption. If, for example, a $10,000 bond is bought at a discount of, let us say at 94 per cent, when it is redeemed the bond will be paid at its full value of 100 per cent. In this case the difference between $9,400 which was paid and the $10,000 which will have been received, is calculated into the yield and divided over the period that the bond is held.

QUESTION: Are bonus shares a good thing to receive?

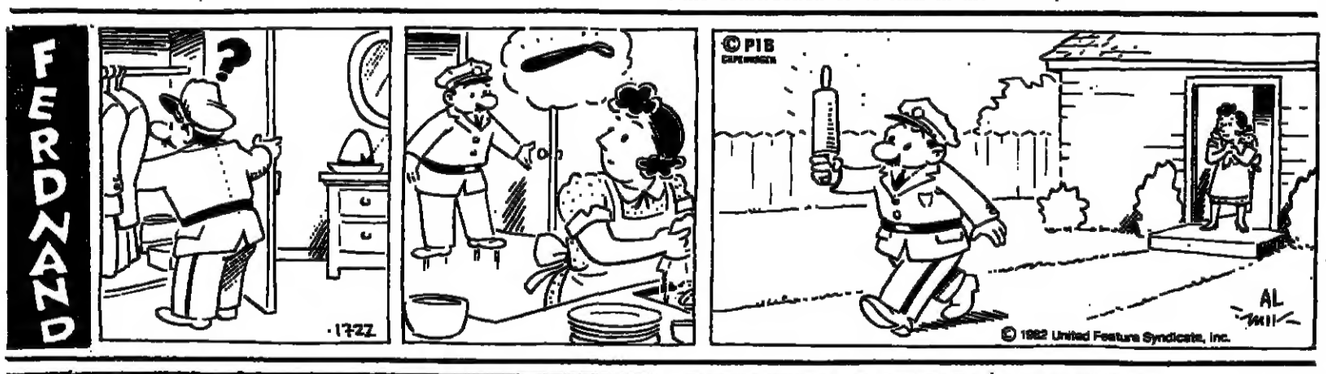
ANSWER: Any time you get shares for nothing it is a good thing. However, in the case of bonus shares you are really not getting something for nothing. If you hold 1,000 shares which are priced at 1,000 at the time of a 100 per cent bonus share distribution, you will wind up holding 2,000 shares at an adjusted value of 500. The value of the 2,000 shares will still be equal to the value of the original 1,000 shares at 1,000. But the fact that the shares are now trading at a lower price may have the effect of drawing new investors in. The resultant demand may have the effect of pushing the price up.

Personal income in U.S. jumped 1.1 per cent

WASHINGTON (AP). — Americans' personal income rose a strong 1.1 per cent in January, as the economic recovery continued to boost employment and hours worked, the Commerce Department reports. The increase last month was the best showing since income climbed at the same pace in October.

The jump spelled good news for further economic expansion, analysts said. Private wages and salaries increased a healthy $18.8 billion in January, compared with a jump of $8.4b. in December.

The January increase of 1.1 per cent compared with hikes of 0.8 per cent in both December and November.



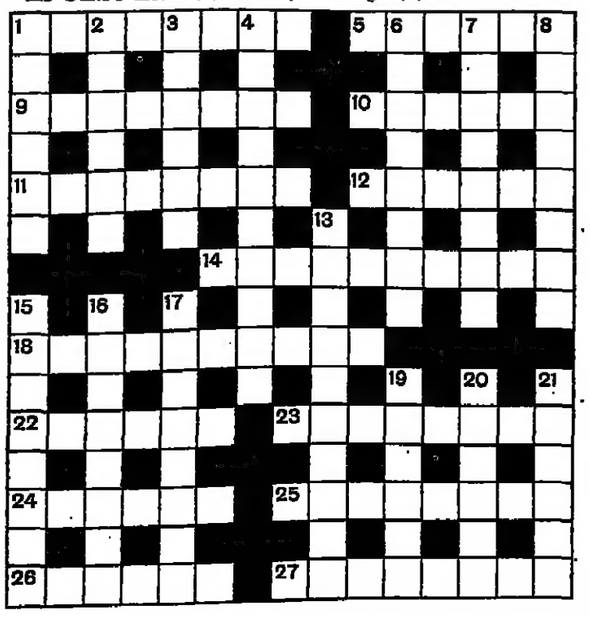
ONE-AND-ONE CROSSWORD

ACROSS

1 State a right to another American state (8)
5 Emphasising inflection, dash it! (6)
9 Drink in a cathedral city, taking it lying down (8)
10 It turns the moon round (6)
11 Being a word to get in six variations (8)
12 They propel a ship with its company aboard (6)
14 Representative of things as they are (4, 2, 4)
18 Soldiers showing hesitancy in becoming plunderers (10)
22 Cryptic nonentity? (6)
23 A suiting tailored for a Jesuit (8)
24 Mountain pass under repair? (4, 2)
25 One of the ship's hangers-on (8)
26 Underhand as Ken, say, when upset (6)
27 Cast down and cast out from the Duke's Head (8)

DOWN

1 Wind that makes us tear about (6)
2 & 16 Upstart told exactly where he stands? (4, 2, 3, 5)
3 Stage at which octogenarians no longer qualify (6)
4 Nothing wrong with a wrestling instruction (3, 2, 5)
6 Two cutlets, and be quick about it! (4-4)
7 Widespread but somehow pieced together around the motorway (8)
8 Language one hears over gun metal (8)
13 May be found in great order, though on the decline (10)
15 See-through figures in certain respects (8)
16 See 2
17 Tedious person in need of a quack remedy, perhaps (4, 4)
19 Red Indian taking the pledge? (6)
20 An ounce, say, in zoological parlance (3, 3)
21 European resort that doesn't change (6)



GENERAL ASSISTANCE

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

Jerusalem: Kupat Holim Clalit, Romema, 523191, Balsam, Salah Eddin, 272315, Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108. Dar Eldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058.
Tel Aviv: Mor, 1 Uziel, 440552. Kupat Holim Leumit, 4 Heftman, 268271.
Petah Tikva: Kupat Holim Leumit, 18 Yehuda Halevy, 912373.
Netanya: Kupat Holim Clalit, 31 Brodetzky, 91123.
Haifa: Yuvne, 7 Ibn-Sina, 672288. Segal, 53 Ha'atzmaut, K. Ata, 441280.

DUTY HOSPITALS

Jerusalem: Bikur Holim (pediatrics, E.N.T.), Hadassah Ein Kerem (internal, gynecology, surgery, orthopedics), Shaare Zedek (ophthalmology).
Tel Aviv: Rokah (pediatrics, internal, surgery).
Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology, surgery).

POLICE

Dial 100 in most parts of the country. In Tiberias dial 924444, Kiryat Shmona 40444.

FIRST AID

Magen David Adom emergency phone numbers (round the clock service).

Ashdod 41332	Jerusalem *523133
Ashkelon 23333	Kiryat Shmona *44334
Bat Yam *585555	Nahariya *923333
Beersheba 78333	Netanya *23333
Carmiel *988555	Petah Tikva *9231111
Dan Region *781111	Rehovot *51333
Eilat 72333	Rishon LeZion 942333
Hadera 22333	Safed 30333
Haifa *512233	Tel Aviv *240111
Hatzor 36333	Tiberias *90111
Holon 803133	

*Mobile Intensive Care Unit (MICU) service in the area round the clock.
101 Emergency phone number in most areas.
Jerusalem Center for Drug Abuse and Misuse Intervention. Tel. 663828, 663902.
14 Beth Lehem Rd.
Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call Tel Aviv, 234819, Jerusalem — 810110, and Haifa 88791.
"Eran" — Mental Health First Aid, Tel. Jerusalem 669911, Tel Aviv 253311, Haifa 538888, Beersheba 48111, Netanya 35316.

FLIGHTS

24-HOURS FLIGHT INFORMATION SERVICE
Call 03-972484
(multi-line)
ARRIVALS ONLY
(TAPED MESSAGE)
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WHAT'S ON

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Jerusalem

MUSEUMS

Israel Museum. Exhibitions: Joseph Zaritsky, Oil Paintings and Aquarelles (done at age 92). David Schneuer, Posters and Advertisements. Henrion. 45 years of design. Art looks at Art. Dr. Erich Salomon, From a Photographer's Life. Ori Reisman, paintings. Scraps, home theatre sets and greeting cards. Tom Seidmann Freud. Tip of the Iceberg No. 2. Permanent Collection of Judaica, Art, Archaeology and Contemporary Israeli Art. **Rockefeller Museum:** Kadesh Barnea, Judean Kingdom fortress. How to Study the Past (for children, Paley Centre, next to Rockefeller Museum). Closed Saturdays.
Museum Galleries Closed. 8.30: Lecture, "The Individual and Universal in Rembrandt's Work" by Dr. Avigdor Poseq.
CONDUCTED TOURS
HADASSAH — Guided tour of all installations ★ Hourly tours at Kiryat Hadassah and Hadassah Mt. Scopus. ★ Information, reservations: 02-416333, 02-446271.
Hebrew University:
1. Tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building, Givat Ram Campus. Buses 9 and 28.
2. Mount Scopus tours 11 a.m. from the Bronfman Reception Centre, Sherman Building. Buses 9 and 28 to last stop. Further details: Tel. 02-882819.
American Mizrachi Women. Free Morning Tours — 8 Alkalai Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-699222.

Tel Aviv

MUSEUMS

Tel Aviv Museum. Exhibitions: Finy Leitersdorf. Israeli fashion designer; Micha Kirshner, photographs; Classical Painting in 17th and 18th centuries; Impressionism and Post-Impressionism; Twentieth Century Art; Israeli Art. **Visiting Hours:** Sun.-Thur. 10-10. Fri. closed. Sat. 10-2; 7-10. Helena Rubinstein Pavilion: Closed for preparation of new exhibition.
CONDUCTED TOURS
American Mizrachi Women. Free Morning Tours — Tel Aviv. Tel. 220187, 243106.
Wizo: To visit our projects call Tel Aviv, 232939. Jerusalem, 226060; Haifa, 89537.
Pioneer Women — Na'amat: Morning tours. Call for reservations: Tel Aviv, 256096.

Haifa

What's On in Haifa, dial 04-640840.

ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL:
8.15 School Broadcasts 15.00 Surprise Train 15.25 Touch 15.45 Follow Me — English for Adults 16.00 The Heart (part 24) 16.25 Sumsam Street 17.00 A New Evening — live magazine
CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES:
17.30 Diff'rent Strokes:
18.00 Cartoons
ARABIC-LANGUAGE programmes
18.30 News roundup
18.32 Sports
19.27 Programme Trailer
19.30 News
HEBREW PROGRAMMES, resume at
20.00 with a news roundup
20.02 Pillar of Fire (part 5).
21.00 Mabat Newsreel
21.30 Are You Being Served? — comedy series: Wedding Bells
22.00 This is the Time
22.45 Strangers — British suspense series starring Don Henderson, Dennis Blanch, Fiona Mollison and Mark Manus: 23.35 News
JORDAN TV (unofficial):
17.30 Cartoons 18.00 French Hour 18.30 (JTV 3) Science film 19.00 News in French 19.30 News in Hebrew 20.00 News in Arabic 20.30 Buffalo Bill 21.10 Documentary 22.00 News in English 22.15 Hart to Hart
MIDDLE EAST TV (In North only):
13.00 Shape-Up 13.30 Insight 14.00 Another Life 14.30 700 Club 15.00 Afternoon Movie 16.30 Spiderman 17.00 Popeye 17.00 Super Book 18.00 Laramie 19.00 Bonanza 20.00 Another Life 20.30 World News Tonight 21.00 Winter Olympics — Ice Hockey; Alpine Skiing; Bobsled; Biathlon

ON THE AIR

Voice of Music
6.02 Musical Clock
7.07 Vivaldi: Concerto for 2 Violins, 2 Celli and Strings (Solisti di Venezia); Bach: Brandenburg Concerto No.3
7.30 Dukas: The Sorcerer's Apprentice, (French Orchestra, Loria Maazel); Addinsell: Warsaw Concerto (Daniel Adni, Bournemouth, Kenneth Alvin); Bernstein: Candide, overture (Boston Pops, John Williams); Grofe: Grand Canyon Suite, arranged for Synthesizer; Cherubini: Guitar Quintet No.2 (Pepe Romero); Mozart: Flute Concerto No.2, K.314 (Karlheinz Zeller); Haydn: Symphony No.45
9.30 Mozart: Duo for Violin and Viola, K.423; Dvorak: Cello Concerto (Lynn Harell, London Symphony, James Levine); Chopin: Polonaise brillant, Op.22 (Krystian Zimerman); Jan Voruszek: Symphony; Weill: Suite from The Beggar's Opera
12.00 An Hour with Mstislav Rostropovich — Beethoven: Sonata No.3, Op. 69; Haydn: Concerto in D major, Op.101
13.05 Musical Greetings
15.00 Men, Women and Children in the songs of Israeli communities
15.30 Youth Programme — Portrait of pianist, conductor and composer André Previn: — works by Irving Berlin, *Gershwin, Mozart, Albinoni*, Rachmaninoff, Dvorak and Previn
16.30 The Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, Moshe Atzmon conducting, with Peter Frankl, piano — Yitzhak Barsam: From the Depth; Chopin: Piano Concerto No.2: Hindemith: Mathis der Maler, symphony
18.00 Musica Viva — Peter Rozmka: Introspections, for String Quartet, (pro Arte, Zagreb); Igor Koleiruiz: S.N.G., for Quartet; Bozidar Kuna: Monologue for Flute; Zlatko Fibernik: Piece for Flute, Violin, Viola and Cello; Marko Rozdiak: Yours in Fidelity for Clarinet; Miroslav Miltik: In Appreciation of Ivan Matatic Ronigov, for Flute, Clarinet and Viola; Adelberi Markowitz: Etude, for Clarinet and Quartet — from Austrian Radio
19.05 Bach: Concerto for 3 Violins (German Bach Soloists); Beethoven: Les Adieux, sota, Op.31 (Ashkenazy); Brahms: Sextet, Op.18 (Cleveland Quartet, with Zukerman and Bernard Greenhouse); Morales, Magnificat
20.40 The Radio Berlin Symphony Orchestra: David Robertson conducting — Bach: Suite No.3; Mozart: Flute Concerto, K.313 (Wolfgang Reiter); Rachmaninoff: Piano Concerto No.2 (Wolfgang Mantz) Saxophone Quartet from London — music by Gordon Jacobs, Moschkovski and Dubois
23.00 Jazz until midnight

First Programme
6.03 Programmes for Olim
7.30 Morning Concert (from Voice of Music)
9.30 Encounter — live family magazine
10.30 Programme in Easy Hebrew
11.10 School Broadcasts
12.05 Sephardi songs
13.00 News in English
13.30 News in French
14.05 Children's programmes
15.33 Notes on a New Book
16.05 Talk on *halachic* matters
17.20 Everyman's University
18.05 Afternoon Classics
18.47 Bible Reading
19.05 Reflections on the Portion of the Week
19.30 Programmes for Olim
22.05 Every Man has a Star

Second Programme
7.00 This Morning — news magazine
8.00 Safe Journey
9.05 House Call — with Rivka Michaeli
10.10 All Shades of the Network
12.05 Open Line — news and music
13.00 Midday — news commentary, music
14.10 Matters of Interest
16.10 Safe Journey
17.10 Economics Magazine
18.45 Today in Sport
19.05 Today — radio newsreel
19.30 Law and Jusice Magazine
20.05 Cantorial Music
22.05 Folksongs
23.05 Treasure Hunt — radio game

Army
6.06 Morning Sounds
6.30 University on the Air
7.07 "707" — with Alex Aneki
8.05 Morning Newsreel
9.05 Right Now
11.05 Israeli Winter — with Eli Yisraeli
13.05 Two Hours
15.05 What's Wrong? — with Erez Tal
16.05 Four in the Afternoon
17.05 Evening Newsreel
18.05 Army and Defence Magazine
19.05 Music Today — music magazine
20.05 *Golden Oldies Hit Parade*
21.00 Mabat — TV Newsreel
21.35 University on the Air (repeat)
23.05 Interview of the Week (repeat)
00.05 Night Birds — songs, chat

CINEMAS

JERUSALEM 4, 7, 9
Eden: The Man; **Edison:** Staying Alive; **Habirah:** Sahara; **Kiri:** Monty Python's The Meaning of Life; **Mitchell:** Vivement Dimanche; **Orion:** Young Frankenstein 4, 6.45, 9; **Orna:** Thunder; **Ron:** Fellow Travellers; **Semadar:** Looking for Mr. Goodbar 7, 9.15; **Binyenei Ha'uma:** I Love You Carmen; **Cinema One:** War Games 5; Emmanuelle 7.15; Shogun 9; **Cinematheque:** Animation films 7; Le Testament d'Orphee 9.30

TEL AVIV 4.30, 7.15, 9.30
Allenby: 48 Hours; **Ben-Yehuda:** Over the Brooklyn Bridge; **Chen 1:** Sudden Impact 4.40, 7.10, 9.40; **Chen 2:** Experience Preferred but Not Essential 4.45, 7.30, 9.30; **Chen 3:** Trading Places 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Chen 4:** Cannery Row 4.20, 7.05, 9.30; **Victor Victoria** 10.30, 1.30; **Chen 5:** Officer and Gentleman 4.30, 7, 9.40; French Lieutenant's Woman 10.30, 1.30; **Cinema One:** Monty Python's The Meaning of Life; **Class:** Coup de Foudre; **Dekel:** To Be or Not to Be 7.15, 9.30; **Drive-In:** Lone Wolf 7.15, 9.30; Sex film, midnight; **Esther:** Le Marginal 7.15, 9.30; **Gat:** I Love You Carmen; **Gordon:** Requiem for a Fool; **Hod:** Sahara; **Lev. 1:** Return of Martin Guerre 1.30, 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Lev II:** We of the Never Never 1.30, 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Limor:** The Chosen; **Maxim:** Who Will Love My Children?; **Mograbi:** Under Fire; **Orly:** Rear Window; **Paris:** The Missionary 10, 12, 2, 4, 7.15, 9.30; **Peer:** Wedding Party; **Shahaf:** Silkwood 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Studio:** Educating Rita; **Tchelet:** Tender Mercies; **Tel Aviv:** Staying Alive; **Tel Aviv Museum:** Muddy River; **Zafon:** Vivement Dimanche 7.15, 9.30.

HAIFA 4, 6.45, 9
Amphitheatre: Sahara; **Armon:** Staying Alive; **Atzmon:** Le Marginal; **Chen:** Dangerous Year; **Morlah:** Under Fire 6.45, 9; **Orah:** Silkwood; **Orly:** Yol 6.30, 9; **Peer:** I Love You Carmen; **Ron:** L'Ete Meurtrier; **Shavit:** Sweet Revenge 6.45, 9; **French Cultural Centre:** Le Boucher 9.30

RAMAT GAN
Armon: I Love You Carmen 7, 9.30; **Pinocchio 4:** **Lily:** Local Hero 7.15, 9.30; **Oasis:** Sudden Impact 7.15, 9.30; Superman II, 4; **Orden:** Who Will Love My Children? 7.15, 9.30; **Ramat Gan:** To Be or Not to Be 7.15, 9.30

HERZLIYA
David: Flash Dance 4, 7.15, 9.30; **Tiberias:** Zorba the Greek 7, 9.30

HOLON
Migdal: Frances 6.30, 9

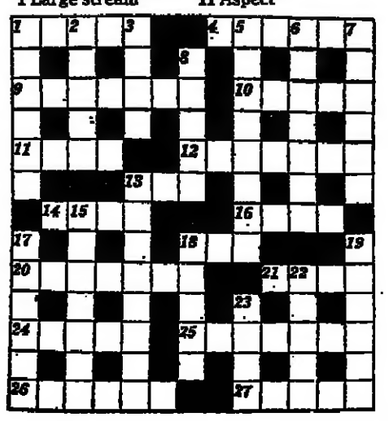
QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS

1 Large stream
4 Scold
9 Ordinary
10 Tranquillity
11 Aspect
12 Occurrence
13 Secreted
14 Nimble
16 Mountain goat
18 Measure of spirit
20 Graze
21 Species of duck
24 Possessor
25 Late
26 Formal headgear (3, 3)
27 Prickly shrub

DOWN

1 Take away
2 Meeting place
3 Laugh loudly
5 Outspoken
6 Fashionable (1, 2, 4)
7 Soccer team
8 Annoyed
13 This year (anag.)
15 Root vegetable
17 Accompany
18 Beat, as the heart
19 Cure
22 Pose
23 Network



Yesterday's solutions

QUICK SOLUTION

ACROSS: 1 Parley, 4 Meant, 8 Locks, 9 Tactful, 10 Retinue, 11 Flee, 12 Rue, 14 Odes, 15 Sort, 18 Sit, 21 Alms, 23 Elector, 25 Observe, 26 Myths, 27 Annoy, 28 Adored. **DOWN:** 1 Paltry, 2 Recited, 3 Easiness, 4 Mice, 5 Awful, 6 Tilted, 7 Other, 13 Esteemed, 16 Rotator, 17 Pagoda, 19 Tepee 20 Erased, 22 Mason, 24 Fray.

Shares rise despite warnings

TEL AVIV. — "The market is overheated and this does not point towards a further favourable development of prices. This is especially so since there is no valid reason for the current sharp advance," Aharon Meir, general manager of the Mizrahi Bank warned yesterday.

Eli Unger, a deputy manager at Mizrahi also pointed out that the degree of the public's participation in the market is considerably less than is generally conveyed by press reports.

Ignoring these warnings, another session of solid gains was recorded yesterday. The turnovers of just under IS900 million did not indicate a major participation on the part of the public. Yet, statistics continued to show that the two major factors necessary for a "bull market," do exist — the availability of funds and a willingness to direct them into the equity market.

The recent rate of the market's rise should give everyone food for thought, though. It would have been preferable for shares to move up slowly, rather than soaring by tens of percentage points. There is an old stock market adage that "the faster the rise, the faster the fall."

For the time being investors and speculators alike had cause for satisfaction, as sharply rising shares outpaced major losers by more than five-to-one. A full 74 issues were "buyers only," and only two were "sellers only." No fewer than 116 issues raced ahead by more than five per cent, while losers of similar margins totalled 33.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

In advance of yesterday's market there were widespread expectations that there would be a wave of profit-taking. However, wherever selling pressures existed the shares were easily picked up and prices, contrary to general opinion, not only did not fall but continued to rise to new recovery highs.

The index-linked bond market was fairly active, with nearly IS763m. worth of bonds changing hands. The trend was for higher prices, with scattered gains of up to three per cent.

The bank shares which are part of the "agreement" advanced moderately and were helped by gains on the part of United Mizrahi and the Finance and Trade Bank.

Bank shares not part of the "agreement" performed considerably better and were led upward by the First International Bank, which raced ahead by a full 10 per cent.

Mortgage bank equities were on the upside. Binyan picked up 10 per cent, while the bearer shares of the Mortgage and Development Bank were an even better feature with a 10.1 per cent gain. Merav chipped in with a 9.5 per cent rise.

Specialized financial institution issues were slightly lower, as Clal Leasing 0.1 lost 7.8 per cent.

The insurance group performed even better than the general averages indicated. The Re-insurance issues were both 10 per cent higher. Menorah 5 came through with a 10 per cent rise.

The service and trade continued to advance along a broad front. The shares of Supersol did not trade as the supermarket chain unveiled a sparkling financial report and advised shareholders that they will receive 100 per cent bonus shares. Lighterage 0.1 was 10 per cent higher, while the Consortium issues were "buyers only."

Ya'ane Computers was strong for a 13.5 per cent fall. The shares have been the object of speculative transactions and the stock exchange is apparently preparing to take steps against the parties involved.

Land Development, real estate and building company shares were also strongly higher. Gains of up to ten per cent were scattered throughout the group. However, it took the Darad securities to provide the pyrotechnics. The 0.1 issues were fixed as "buyers only." There was no problem in trading the 0.5 shares but buyers had to cough up 29 per cent more than in the previous session. The Darad option was an even more spectacular performer as it wound up the session with a 34.3 per cent advance. Even more excitement was noted when trading moved to the Rogovin shares. The 1.0 shares soared by 40.1 per cent.

While there is little to criticize either Darad or Rogovin, yesterday's jumps were just the type of "excesses" which Aharon Meir referred to in his warning.

Industrials were market leaders and their action is perhaps the firmest indications that there is a renewed confidence in the ability of the country's economy to manage the current crisis.

Once again there were excesses in this group. Atlantic 1 chipped in with a 20 per cent high advance. It was joined by Goldfrost 1, which was 20.6 per cent higher. Argaman ordinary was 25 per cent higher. The T.A.T. 1 and 5 shares were on the "buyers only" list. The shares were reacting to the news that Israel would be allowed by the U.S. to spends $250m. for the development on the Lavie fighter plane within the country. T.A.T. is expected to be one of the beneficiaries of the spending.

Alliance and Teva were both ten per cent winners.

Clal Industries was 10 per cent higher on heavy turnovers.

The investment company group was strong. The shares of the Israel Corporation were not traded as a result of the Eisenberg group's purchase of the TC shares held by the United Mizrahi Bank. (Story on Page 6)

Most active stocks

Leumi	2070	107,793.2m.	n.c.
Hapoalim r	3260	79,928.7m.	n.c.
Mizrahi r	2020	61,355.5m.	+45
Shares traded:		IS875.2m.	
Convertibles:		IS24.5m.	
Bonds:		IS762.7m.	

Texaco pays out $4b. to finish Getty buyout

NEW YORK (AP). — Texaco paid out $4.07 billion in cash Friday to complete a $10.13b. takeover of Getty Oil Co. — the biggest buyout in U.S. history.

Texaco also filed papers in the state of Delaware to make Getty a wholly-owned subsidiary, formally ending the independence of a Los Angeles-based oil company that the late billionaire J. Paul Getty built into the 14th-largest oil concern in the U.S.

By taking over Getty, Texaco increases its assets by one-third and doubles its oil reserves. But Texaco remains the No. 3 oil company, behind Exxon and Mobil.

U.S. HOUSING. — New housing starts in the U.S. surged by 15 per cent last month, to their highest level for five years, the Commerce Department has announced.

Equipment sale fraud suspected at hospital

Police in Jerusalem are investigating a suspected case of fraud at the Hadassah Hospital in Ein Kerem in which new hospital equipment was sold as faulty, used equipment.

As a result of the investigation, police last week arrested a hospital property manager, Nissim Taib, who has been freed on IS15,000 bail, as well as a driver from Hebron, Hani Jahadat, who was arrested on Friday and remanded in custody for four days.

Moshe Lapidot, at 85

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Moshe Lapidot, one of the founders of the Daily Newspaper Publishers Association, the Itim news agency, and for many years manager of Davar, died on Friday at the age of 85. He was buried Friday at Kibbutz Tzor'a.

CLASSIFIEDS

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CURRENCY BASKET	PURCHASE	SALE
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"EURO PAZ", 1 UNIT	473.0804	478.9836
S.D.R.	136.1320	137.8306

FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES FOR 19.2.84

COUNTRY	CURRENCY		CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS PURCHASE	CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS SALE	BANKNOTES PURCHASE	BANKNOTES SALE
USA	DOLLAR	1	129.7505	131.3695	128.6000	133.1700
GREAT BRITAIN	STERLING	1	187.4375	189.7764	185.7700	192.3500
GERMANY	MARK	1	48.3566	48.9600	47.9200	49.6300
FRANCE	FRANC	1	15.7216	15.9178	15.0300	16.1400
HOLLAND	GULDEN	1	42.8573	43.3921	42.4700	43.9900
SWITZERLAND	FRANC	1	59.1792	59.9177	58.6500	60.7400
SWEDEN	KRONA	1	16.2880	16.4913	15.9300	16.7200
NORWAY	KRONE	1	16.9471	17.1586	16.5700	17.3900
DENMARK	KRONE	1	13.2549	13.4204	12.9600	13.6000
FINLAND	MARK	1	22.5249	22.8060	22.0300	23.1200
CANADA	DOLLAR	1	104.0084	105.3062	102.2600	106.7900
AUSTRALIA	DOLLAR	1	122.5217	124.0505	117.0600	126.8800
SOUTH AFRICA	RAND	1	105.8151	107.1355	89.1400	113.1700
BELGIUM	FRANC	10	23.6253	23.9202	—	—
AUSTRIA	SCHILLING	10	68.6147	69.4709	68.0000	70.4200
ITALY	LIRE	1000	78.2572	79.2337	74.0700	80.3200
JAPAN	YEN	1000	555.3199	562.2491	550.3900	569.9600

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FOREIGN CURRENCY 17.2.84

Friday's foreign exchange rates against the Israel Shekel, for U.S. dollar transactions under $3,000 and transactions of other currencies under the equivalent of $500.

	Selling	Buying
US$	131.3695	129.7501
Sterling	189.8289	187.4888
DM	48.9272	48.3240
French FR	15.9014	15.7053
Dutch G	43.3949	42.8600
Swiss FR	59.8494	59.1116
Swedish KR	16.5037	16.3002
Norwegian KR	17.1668	16.9552
Danish KR	13.4462	13.2804
Finnish MK	22.7993	22.5182
Canadian $	105.3358	104.0372
Australian $	123.9668	122.4388
Rand	107.2303	105.9085
Belgian Con (10)	23.8850	23.5900
Belgian Fin (10)	23.1488	22.8634
Austrian SH (10)	69.3975	68.5420
Yen (100)	56.3093	55.6151
Italian Lire (1000)	79.1740	78.1980

GOLD: $382.00/382.50/oz.

INTERBANK SPOT RATES:

US$	1.4440/50	per £
DM	2.6840/50	per $
Swiss FR	2.1940/50	per $
French FR	8.2620/70	per $
Italian Lire	1659.50/00	per $
Dutch G	3.0265/80	per $
Yen	233.30/40	per $
Danish KR	9.7750/00	per $
Norwegian KR	7.6500/50	per $
Swedish KR	7.9600/00	per $
Belgian Con	54.97/00	per $
Belgian Fin	56.73/78	per $

FORWARD RATES:

	1 mon.	3 mos.	6 mos.
$/£	1.4446/460	1.4462/476	1.4488/503
DM/$	2.6760/775	2.6573/588	2.6306/326
Sw.FR.$	2.1820/835	2.1685/600	2.1260/280

	Closing price	Volume IS1,000	Change	% change
Commercial Banks (not part of "arrangement")				
OHH r	1760	12	-100	-6.0
Maritime 0.1	727	2586	n.c.	—
Maritime 0.5	276	3751	n.c.	—
N. American 1	5542	61	+105	+1.9
N. American 5	3815	131	+123	+3.3
N. Am. op 1	2770	127	+169	+6.5
Danot 1	599	257	—1	—.2
Danot 5	151	10551	-10	+7.1
Danot sc 2	340	1046	n.c.	—
First Int'l 5	594	4946	+54	+10.0
FIBI	472	4062	n.c.	—
Commercial Banks (part of "arrangement")				
IDB p	110000	—	+1900	+1.8
IDB r	4790	1007	n.c.	—
IDB B r	5150	11	n.c.	—
IDB p A	29200	—	n.c.	—
IDB op 11	3700	310	n.c.	—
Union 0.1	3570	387	n.c.	—
Discount B r	6220	25	n.c.	—
Discount A r	6160	30	n.c.	—
Discount op 2	5100	56	—	—
Discount B cn	730	105	—20	—2.7
Mizrahi r	2020	3037	+45	+2.3
Mizrahi b	2020	201	+45	+2.3
Mizrahi op 11	3640	221	—50	—1.4
Mizrahi op 12	1400	325	n.c.	—
Mizrahi cn 6	16600	14	n.c.	—
Mizrahi cn 9	900	351	n.c.	—
Hapoalim p	4300	3	+40	+.9
Hapoalim r	3260	2451	n.c.	—
Hapoalim b	3280	80	+20	+.6
Hapoalim cn 8	12500	3	n.c.	—
General A	6429	34	n.c.	—
General op 8	20000	6	n.c.	—
General op 9	8000	5	n.c.	—
General cn 5	6490	11	—100	—1.5
General cn 7	400	113	n.c.	—
Leumi 0.1	2070	5207	n.c.	—
Leumi cn 9	2850	93	n.c.	—
Leumi cn 11	781	196	n.c.	—
Finance Trade 1	2870	20	+40	+1.4
Finance Trade 5	1592	23	+145	+10.0
Finance Trade op	2700	2	+150	+5.9
Mortgage Banks				
Adanim 0.1	1209	89	—100	—7.6
Gen Mortgage	1476	275	+28	+1.9
Gen. Mortgage	1476	5	+90	+6.5
Carmel r	1280	39	+10	+.8
Carmel op	799	159	—13	—1.6
Carmel deb	180	505	+4	+2.3
Binyan	1008	21	+92	+10.0
DevMortgage r	701	1005	+37	+5.6
DevMortgage b	711	36	+65	+10.1
DevMort. op	600	779	—137	—18.6
Mishkan r	—	—	—	—
Mishkan b	3570	5	n.c.	—
Independence	2230	30	—120	—5.1
Tefahot p r	1550	14	—37	—2.3
Tefahot r	1490	45	—40	—2.6
Tefahot deb. 1	574	120	—26	—4.3
Tefahot deb. 2	243	1612	+3	+1.3
Jaysour 1	400	2770	+15	+3.9
Jaysour 5	370	186	+10	+2.8
Jaysour op	240	923	+22	+10.1
Merav r	345	645	+30	+9.5
Financial Institutions				
Shilton r	185	1618	+15	+8.8
Shilton op B	1108	2	n.c.	—
Agriculture A	17999	1	—1	—
Agriculture C	11900	—	—	—
Leumi Ind r	911	8	—1	—.1
Leumi Ind b	918	—	—7	—.8
Dev. Mortgage r	9735	4	+885	+10.0
Dev. Mortgage b	31200	1	+700	+2.3
Dev. Mortgage c	18010	—	—1000	—5.3
Dev. Mortgage c1	18600	—	—	—
Dev. Mortgage d	16500	—	—	—
Dev. Mortgage	5303	—	—	—
Contractors	164	280	+3	+1.9
Tourism	12714	—	—	—
Clal Lease 0.1	415	199	—35	—7.8
Clal Lease 0.5	311	187	—11	—3.4
Clal Lease deb	818	43	+2	+.3
Insurance				
Aryeh r	no trading			
Aryeh op	400	b.o.1	+46	+13.0
Aryeh sub deb	3035	2	+85	+2.9
Ararat 0.1 r	639	b.o.2	+30	+4.9
Ararat 0.5 b	273	b.o.1	+13	+5.0
Reinsur 0.1 r	755	32	+69	+10.1
Reinsur 0.5 r	242	485	+22	+10.0
Hadar 1	350	151	n.c.	—
Hadar 5	185	189	+8	+4.5
Hassneh r	632	b.o.1	+30	+5.0
Hassneh op 4	601	209	+1	+.2
Phoenix 0.1 r	1148	136	n.c.	—
Phoenix 0.5 r	387	23	n.c.	—
Hamishmar 1	565	62	n.c.	—
Hamishmar 5	561	5	+10	+1.8
Hamishmar op	680	36	n.c.	—
Yardenia 0.1 r	316	b.o.1	+15	+5.0
Yardenia 0.5 r	171	154	n.c.	—
Yardenia op 2	87	216	+12	+16.7
Menorah 1	1249	51	+29	+2.4
Menorah 5	352	98	+32	+10.0
Sahar r	1465	20	+25	+1.7
Securitas r	267	419	+17	+6.8
Zur r	801	6	+1	+.1
Zion Hold. 1	402	23	+32	+8.7
Zion Hold. 5	181	199	n.c.	—
Trade & Services				
Trade				
Meir Ezra	307	s.o.2	—16	—5.0
Meir Ezra op	227	1	+10	+4.6
Teta 1	207	208	+12	+6.2
Teta 5	114	b.o.1	+5	+5.1
Teta op	60	1787	+10	+21.0
Clal Trade	568	b.o.1	+27	+5.0
Clal Trade op	885	473	n.c.	—
Crystal 1	208	174	+19	+10.1
Rapac 0.1	1250	10	n.c.	—
Rapac 0.5	254	b.o.1	+12	+5.0
Supersol 2	no trading			
Supersol B 10	no trading			
Supersol op C	no trading			
Services				
Delek r	2260	200	+61	+2.8
Harel 1	617	100	n.c.	—
Harel 5	284	98	+10	+3.7
Lighterage 0.1	693	383	+63	+10.0
Lighterage 0.5	355	b.o.1	+17	+5.0
Cold Store 0.1	10163	b.o.1	+484	+5.0
Cold Store 1	5786	13	+526	+10.0
Israel Elec. r	no trading			
Bond Ware 0.1	400	b.o.1	+19	+5.0
Bond Ware 0.5	340	186	+15	+4.6
Bond Ware op	161	810	n.c.	—
Consort Hold 1	433	b.o.1	+21	+5.1
Consort 0.5	255	b.o.1	+12	+4.9
Consort op A	230	164	+17	+8.0
Kopel 1	285	75	—15	—5.0
Kopel op	165	30	n.c.	—

	Closing price	Volume IS1,000	Change	% change
Hotels, Tourism				
Galei Zohar 1	550	74	+50	+10.0
Galei Zohar 5	236	118	+21	+9.8
Dan Hotels 1	596	137	+1	+.2
Dan Hotels 5	365	195	+30	+9.0
Coral Beach	285	188	+5	+1.8
Yarden Hotel	274	69	+8	+3.0
Yarden Hotel op	130	794	—10	—7.1
Yahalom	186	768	+9	+5.1
Yahalom op.	112	644	+2	+2.3
Computers				
Data	280	77	n.c.	—
Hilon 1	460	119	n.c.	—
Hilon 5	620	3	+10	+1.6
Ya'ane	1480	57	—230	—13.5
Ya'ane op	1080	73	—120	—10.0
Clal Comp.	499	60	+9	+1.8
Clal Comp. op	359	27	+57	+18.9
M.L.L. 1	1200	31	n.c.	—
M.L.L. 5	504	77	+34	+7.2
M.L.L. op	279	84	n.c.	—
Mashov	361	386	—56	—13.4
Nikuv 1	341	141	—2	—.6
Nikuv 5	192	b.o.1	+9	+4.9
Nikuv op	159	40	+10	+6.7
Team 1	1090	2	+30	+2.8
Team op	850	28	+40	+4.9
Real Estate, Building				
Oren	275	434	+23	+9.1
Azorim Prop.	234	b.o.1	+11	+4.9
Azorim opD	410	245	+21	+5.4
Azorim opE	165	834	n.c.	—
Eilon	69	517	+5	+7.8
Eilon op	56	36	+6	+11.9
Amnonim	153	182	n.c.	—
Amnonim op	79	143	—1	—1.3
Africa Isr. 0.1	1686	b.o.1	+80	+5.0
Africa Isr. 1.0	1449	b.o.1	+69	+5.0
Arazim	158	116	n.c.	—
Arazim op	133	188	n.c.	—
Arledan 0.1	483	73	+44	+10.0
Arledan 0.5	153	235	n.c.	—
Ben Yakar 1	319	b.o.1	+15	+4.9
Ben Yakar 5	165	64	—16	—8.8
Baranowitz 1	149	791	+13	+10.0
Baranowitz 5	88	b.o.1	+4	+4.7
Baranowitz op	67	300	—	+.8
Dankner	155	63	n.c.	—
Drucker 1	175	1061	+15	+9.4
Drucker 5	115	1048	+8	+7.5
Drucker op	84	224	+4	+5.0
Darad 0.1	357	b.o.1	+17	+5.0
Darad 0.5	178	458	+40	+29.0
Darad op	325	1	+83	+34.3
H.L.B. 0.1	530	81	n.c.	—
H.L.B. 0.5 r	167	649	+15	+9.9
Property Bldg.	1066	315	+10	+1.0
Bayside 0.1	930	85	n.c.	—
Bayside 0.5	725	83	+55	+8.2
ILDC r	1452	442	+80	+5.8
ILDC b	1452	12	+76	+5.5
Ispro	320	527	n.c.	—
Isralom	370	33	+18	+5.1
Isras	589	b.o.1	+28	+5.0
Cohen Dev.	161	569	n.c.	—
Cohen Dev. op	77	134	+7	+10.8
Clal Real	185	2921	+16	+9.4
Clal Real opD	420	455	n.c.	—
Lumir 1	134	b.o.1	+6	+5.1
Lumir 5	82	848	+7	+10.1
Lumir op	54	b.o.1	+5	+10.2
M.T.M. 1	2880	9	+100	+3.6
M.T.M. 5	1160	7	+60	+5.5
M.T.M. op	938	—	—	—
Bldg.Res.	79	b.o.1	+4	+5.3
Bldg.Res.op	47	825	—1	—2.1
Modal	372	108	+34	+10.1
Mishnel	155	362	—10	—6.1
Menrav	249	b.o.1	+12	+5.1
Menrav op	120	b.o.1	+21	+21.1
Mar-Lez	176	181	—19	—9.7
Mar-Lez op	120	50	+13	+12.2
Levinstein 1	291	6	—5	—1.7
Levinstein 5	94	327	+5	+5.6
Levinstein op	73	140	+6	+9.0
Lifschitz 1	171	500	+7	+4.3
Lifschitz 5	105	680	n.c.	—
Lifschitz op	76	2362	—5	—6.1
Neot Aviv	6140	2	—25	—.4
Azorim Prop.	253	b.o.1	+12	+5.0
Sahar Hold 1	460	46	+25	+5.8
Sahar Hold 5	309	154	+26	+9.2
Solel Boneh	800	190	+7	+.9
Sahaf 1	315	38	+19	+6.4
Sahaf 5	223	10	+12	+5.7
Sahaf op	130	—	+1	+.8
Afar Ve'Sela	200	57	n.c.	—
Caesarea 0.1	162	b.o.1	+7	+4.9
Caesarea 0.5	80	b.o.1	+4	+5.2
Rogovin 1	332	96	+95	+40.1
Rogovin 5	195	22	n.c.	—
Rogovin op	75	441	+8	+12.7
Rassco p	440	302	n.c.	—
Rassco r	418	452	+38	+10.0
Agriculture				
Hadar 0.1	217	519	n.c.	—
Hadar 0.5	125	678	+6	+5.0
Hadar op	66	578	—3	—5.0
Mehadrin	no trading			
Hadarim prop.	294	b.o.1	+14	+5.0
Pri-Or	1088	37	n.c.	—
Shenhar	149	b.o.1	+7	+4.9
Industrials				
Food and Tobacco				
Atas	237	b.o.1	+11	+5.1
Atas op	110	94	+1	+.9
Atlantic	79	389	+13	+19.7
Atlantic op	36	776	n.c.	—
Gold Frost 1	240	109	+41	+20.6
Gold Frost 5	73	285	n.c.	—
Gold Frost op	52	316	—4	—7.1
Dubek r	2640	31	+240	+10.0
Dubek b	2640	7	+240	+10.0
Sanlakol 1	368	29	—5	—1.3
Sanlakol 5	258	31	—9	—3.4
Sanlakol op	228	—	—	—
Pri-Ze 1	462	444	+42	+10.0
Pri-Ze 5	245	b.o.1	+11	+4.7
Pri-Ze op	140	528	+12	+9.3
Tempo 1	313	23	—10	—3.1
Tempo 5	204	24	—15	—6.9
Izhar 1	294	178	—2	—.7
Izhar 5	177	97	—9	—4.8
Man 1	2250	15	n.c.	—
Man 5	900	63	—26	—2.8
Man op	410	109	—10	—2.4
Sunfrost	502	b.o.1	+24	+5.0
Elite r	1690	373	+40	+2.4
Assis	2225	8	n.c.	—
Shemen p	1755	23	—195	—10.0

	Closing price	Volume IS1,000	Change	% change
Textiles and Clothing				
Ofis	126	b.o.2	+6	+5.0
Ofis op	75	b.o.1	+5	+7.9
Baruch 1	410	74	n.c.	—
Baruch 5	281	100	+20	+7.7
Baruch op	158	21	n.c.	—
Alaska Sport 1	380	86	n.c.	—
Alaska Sport 5	179	30	+8	+4.7
Eftan	76	442	n.c.	—
Eftan op	50	305	+1	+2.0
Argaman p	1002	10	+75	+8.1
Argaman r	1115	22	+222	+24.9
Ata B 1	112	1949	+3	+2.8
Ata C 0.1	77	b.o.1	+3	+4.7
Delta Galil 1	459	579	+29	+6.7
Delta Galil 3	231	379	+11	+5.0
Delta Galil op	70	1404	+7	+11.1
United Spinners	106	80	-12	—10.2
United Spinners	74	35	—8	—9.8
Spinners op	38	30	—6	—13.6
Vitalgo 1	148	329	—3	—2.0
Vitalgo 5	78	245	—12	—13.3
Wardinon	272	53	+6	+2.3
Wardinon op	190	44	—10	—5.0
Zikit 1	209	402	n.c.	—
Zikit 5	90	s.o.1	—4	—4.8
Tip Top 1	85	138	—	+.6
Tip Top op	55	80	+6	+12.2
Yomar 1	425	b.o.1	+20	+4.9
Yomar 5	no trading			
Lodzia 0.1	227	79	+21	+10.2
Lodzia 0.4	75	1750	n.c.	—
Ligat	129	105	+9	+7.5
Ligat op	66	26	+13	+24.5
MIF Glico	346	b.o.1	+16	+4.9
MIF Glico op	165	105	+33	+25.0
Maquette 1	650	29	n.c.	—
Maquette 5	194	108	—6	—3.0
Eagle 1	1522	35	—1	—.1
Eagle 5	860	102	—15	—1.7
Eagle op	1150	56	+50	+4.6
Polgat 0.1	2250	17	+116	+5.4
Polgat 0.4	1400	578	+124	+9.7
Polygon r	283	53	n.c.	—
Pargod	119	663	+9	+8.2
Pargod op	58	691	—1	—1.7
Schoellerina	426	189	+20	+4.9
Rogosin	118	130	n.c.	—
Metals and Metal Products				
Octagon	252	4	+2	+.8
Octagon op	212	—	+1	+.5
Urdan 0.1 r	2165	77	n.c.	—
Urdan 0.5 r	1413	188	+125	+9.7
Urdan op	853	291	n.c.	—
Cables r	995	26	n.c.	—
Cables b	no trading			
Hatehof 1	368	b.o.1	+17	+4.8
Hatehof 5	165	59	—	+.3
Is. Can Corp 1	300	508	+2	+.7
Is. Can Corp 5	303	198	n.c.	—
Sdom Metals 1	231	179	n.c.	—
Sdom Metals op	116	100	+21	+22.1
Zion Cables 1	2020	57	n.c.	—
Zion Cables 5	400	1318	+16	+4.2
Zion Cables op	185	68	+1	+.8
Kadmani 1	179	231	—1	—.6
Kadmani 5	111	208	+3	+2.8
Kadmani op	155	78	+8	+5.4
Nechushtan 0.1	416	b.o.1	+20	+5.1
Nechushtan 0.5	312	b.o.1	+15	+5.1
Nechushtan op	86	880	+27	+45.8
Arid	199	b.o.1	+9	+5.0
Arad op	150	821	n.c.	—
Pecker Steel	435	113	n.c.	—
King 1	460	32	—10	—2.1
King 5	285	35	n.c.	—
King op	190	30	n.c.	—
Klil 1	380	60	—21	—5.2
Klil 5	229	b.o.1	+11	+5.1
Sheladot	272	10	n.c.	—
Sheladot op	170	—	+7	+4.3
Lachish 1	630	95	+26	+4.3
Lachish 5	426	3	n.c.	—
Lachish op	606	137	n.c.	—
Electrical Machinery, Electronics, Optics				
Elbit 3 r	51240	10	+101	+.2
Elbit op	76600	1	—300	—.4
Elco 0.1	451	52	n.c.	—
Elco 0.25 r	272	1299	+18	+7.1
Elco 0.25 b	253	b.o.1	+12	+5.0
Electra 0.1 r	1415	41	+50	+3.7
Electra 0.5 r	542	b.o.1	+26	+5.0
Electra op 4	346	222	n.c.	—
Elron	59001	24	+701	+1.2
Arit	1598	33	+7	+.4
Arit op	1350	10	—20	—1.5
Clal Electronics.	1265	845	+75	+6.3
Spectronix 1	2170	97	n.c.	—
Spectronix 5	1760	74	+50	+2.9
Spectronix op	2840	53	+215	+8.2
Feuchtwanger 1	217	81	+17	+8.5
Feuchtwanger 5	164	9	—	+.3
Feucht. op.	73	228	n.c.	—
Cyclone 1	462	—	+22	+5.0
Cyclone 5	212	b.o.1	+10	+5.0
Cyclone op	171	198	+14	+8.9
Katz Adler 1	293	59	n.c.	—
Katz Adler 5	140	84	n.c.	—
T.A.T. 1	702	b.o.1	+33	+4.9
T.A.T. 5	325	b.o.1	+15	+4.8
T.A.T. op	515	274	+55	+12.0
Tedea	619	245	n.c.	—
Tedea op	505	166	n.c.	—
Building Materials				
I.P. Industries	206	584	+11	+5.6
Alkol	350	77	+5	+1.5
Alkol op	200	116	n.c.	—
Ackerstein 1	357	20	—22	—5.8
Ackerstein 5	246	10	n.c.	—
Tadir 1	520	60	—1	—.2
Tadir 5	259	16	—20	—7.2
Barton 1	142	56	—12	—7.8
Barton 5	67	125	—7	—10.0
Hamaslul 1	162	290	+10	+6.6
Hamaslul 5	94	261	+7	+8.1
Hamaslul op	138	10	+8	+6.5
Tromasbest 1	556	3	n.c.	—
Tromasbest 5	301	16	n.c.	—
M.L.T. 1	286	37	+4	+1.4
M.L.T. 5	151	19	+11	+7.9
Modul Ind	159	306	+12	+8.2
Wolfman 1	695	5	—5	—.7
Wolfman 5	531	6	n.c.	—
Chemicals, Rubber, Plastics				
Agan Chem. 5	1026	202	n.c.	—
Agan op	620	77	—5	—.8
Alliance Tire	196	220	+18	+10.1
Gal Indus. 1	1161	52	n.c.	—
Gal Indus. 5	429	295	n.c.	—
Gal Indus. op	560	34	+20	+3.7
Dexter Chem.	227	80	n.c.	—
Dexter op A	130	129	n.c.	—
Fertilizer 0.1	2300	73	+186	+8.8
Fertilizer 0.5	600	230	n.c.	—
Fertilizer op	335	254	+5	+1.5
Haifa Chemicals	1683	160	n.c.	—

	Closing price	Volume IS1,000	Change	% change
Teva r	2717	146	+247	+10.0
Teva b	3000	2	+20	+.7
Lipsky	394	2	—1	—.3
Lipsky op	300	—	+30	+11.1
Dead Sea r	1630	1104	+80	+5.2
Petrochemicals	315	641	+24	+8.3
Maxima 1	203	143	n.c.	—
Maxima 5	158	29	+6	+4.0
Maxima op	82	825	+6	+7.9
Neca Chem.	275	266	n.c.	—
Sano 1	620	41	n.c.	—
Sano 5	450	7	n.c.	—
Kedem Chem.	240	282	—17	—6.6
Kedem Chem. op	118	52	—26	—18.1
T.G.L. 1	245	274	+22	+9.9
T.G.L. 5	176	21	+2	+1.2
T.G.L. op	69	402	+9	+15.0
Taya	440	87	+10	+2.3
Taya op b	233	10	+43	+22.6
Frutarom	1660	23	+19	+1.2
Taro Pharm.	209	b.o.1	+10	+5.0
Wood, Paper, Printing				
Dafron 1	179	112	+2	+1.4
Dafron 5	106	257	+1	+1.0
Dafron op	64	174	n.c.	—
Haman 1	150	72	+5	+3.8
Haman op	124	118	+13	+11.7
Yaeh 1	279	b.o.1	+13	+4.9
Yaeh 5	255	74	+44	+20.9
Molett	2160	2	—240	—10.0
Paper Mills	7609	b.o.1	+362	+5.0
Scandia 1	230	237	+20	+9.5
Scandia op	125	87	—5	—3.9
Rim 0.1 r	551	7	+3	+.6
Rim 0.4 r	299	133	n.c.	—
Ta'al B r	527	38	+48	+10
Miscellaneous Industries				
Alumit 1	725	71	+60	+9.0
Alumit 5	415	13	n.c.	—
Alumit op	550	7	+7	+1.3
Andin 1	538	294	+48	+9.8
Andin 5	309	b.o.2	+15	+5.1
Andin op	148	226	+28	+23.3
Five J	268	122	—1	—.4
Five J op	185	67	—11	—5.6
Zika 1	515	20	+13	+2.6
Zika 5	420	—	—	—
Zika op	637	b.o.1	+42	+7.1
Pollak 1	496	185	+45	+10.0
Pollak 5	269	116	+9	+3.5
Pollak op 1	114	128	n.c.	—
Industrial Investment				
Central Trade.	872	b.o.1	+41	+4.9
Koor p	no trading			
Clal Industry	639	3974	+58	+10.0
Clal Ind op C	1076	483	n.c.	—
Tech Res.	113	3459	—6	—5.0
Tech Res. op	79	4311	+11	+16.2
Investment Companies				
Unico r	510	150	+37	+7.8
IDB Dev. r	1360	651	+10	+.7
Incoba 0.1	223	571	+18	+8.8
Incoba 0.5	137	605	n.c.	—
Elgar r	1089	8	—1	—.1
Elgar b	990	13	—50	—4.8
Ellern	919	167	+84	+10.1
Ellern b	834	b.o.1	+40	+5.0
Amissar	3940	14	—18	—.5
Afik 1	4100	12	+25	+.6
Afik 5	2013	2	+13	+7
Afik op	5555	8	n.c.	—
Israel Corp. 1	no trading			
Israel Corp. 5	no trading			
Wolfson 0.1	2795	b.o.1	+133	+5.0
Wolfson 1 r	1021	155	+1	+.1
Ampa r	770	b.o.1	+37	+5.1
Ampa op 1	949	27	—1	—.1
Hapoal. Inv. r	3640	58	—50	—1.4
Leumi Inv.	991	b.o.1	+47	+5.0
Disc. Invest r	1650	1550	+110	+7.1
Disc. Invest b	1770	28	+79	+4.7
Mizrahi Inv.	1810	100	+93	+5.4
Mizrahi T22	265	—	—20	—7.0
Mizrahi 124	655	437	n.c.	—
Hiron 1	116	b.o.1	+5	+5.0
Hiron 5	73	b.o.1	+3	+5.0
Hiron op	41	b.o.2	+3	+7.9
Export r	550	132	+30	+5.8
Export op	288	2	n.c.	—
Jordan Expl. 0.	273	b.o.1	+13	+5.0
Jordan E. op	26663	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Clal 10	1300	546	+99	+8.2
Clal 50	740	162	n.c.	—
Landeco 0.1	421	81	—24	—5.4
Landeco 0.5	290	185	+26	+9.9
Landeco op	125	151	—5	—3.9
Magor 0.1	182	131	+1	+.6
Magor 0.5	110	90	+4	+3.8
Magor op	626	9	n.c.	—
Oz Inv. 0.1	428	103	—22	—4.9
Oz Iv. 0.5	137	273	+12	+10.0
Paz Invest.	1762	143	+100	+6.0
Pama 0.1	no trading			
Pama 0.5	no trading			
Pama op	no trading			
Piryon	233	b.o.1	+11	+5.0
Research and Development				
Clever Devices	180	583	+12	+7.1
Clever Dev. op	112	136	+7	+7.2
Galil Tech. 1	171	793	+15	+9.9
Galil Tech. op	101	1386	n.c.	—
Oil Exploration				
Delek Explo. 1	555	b.o.1	+26	+4.9
Delek Explo. 5	346	b.o.1	+16	+4.9
Oil Expl. Paz	838	127	n.c.	—
Teroil 1	232	b.o.1	+11	+5.0
Teroil 5	105	b.o.1	+5	+5.0
Teroil op 1	70	103	+10	+16.7
J.O.E.L.	268	1797	+290	+8.1
J.O.E.L. op 1	195	992	n.c.	—
M.G.N. 1	262	345	n.c.	—
M.G.N. 5	102	b.o.1	+5	+5.2
M.G.N. op	46	384	n.c.	—
Seismica 1	347	480	n.c.	—
Seismica 5	154	586	n.c.	—
Seismica op	120	494	+10	+9.1
Fedoil r	294	226	n.c.	—
N. Amer. 1	161	b.o.1	+8	+5.2
N. Amer. 5	120	534	+22	+22.5
N. Amer. op	64	b.o.1	+4	+7.5
Naphta r	30500	2	+600	+2.0
Recent listings				
Kenes	222	205	—15	—6.3
El-Rov 1	122	b.o.1	+6	+5.2
El-Rov 5	88	b.o.1	+4	+4.7
Barton op	57	287	+8	+17.4
Ata op	43	3692	n.c.	—
Rassco op.	352	106	n.c.	—

Abbreviations:

s.o.	sellers only	n.c.	no change
b.o.	buyers only	r	registered
d	without dividend	b	bearer
c	without coupon	pref.	preferred
x	without bonus	op.	option

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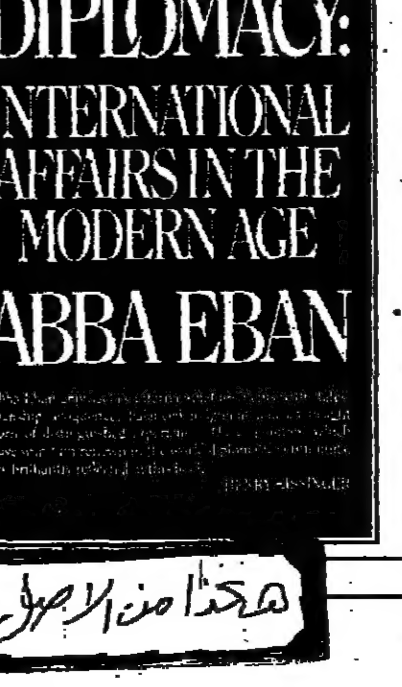
by Abba Eban



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Catching up to reality

THERE IS SOMETHING decidedly bizarre about Israel's current position on the May 17 agreement with Lebanon — a document which Jerusalem insists is formally binding, and may not be unilaterally abrogated, but which both it and the other signatory are totally disregarding in pursuit of their own quite divergent interests.

The idea of the agreement may have held some promise when negotiations started early last year. But when it was signed, some five months later, the agreement was already largely irrelevant, depending for its implementation on the cooperation of Damascus — something which was plainly not forthcoming. The only alternative was to override Damascus's objections and forcibly remove Syria's veto. But Israel, just as plainly, was not prepared to do that.

Not only was Israel not prepared to go on the offensive against Syria in defence of the agreement, it served notice last September that it was not even ready to keep control of the Shouf any longer and thereby to prevent Syria from bringing military pressure to bear on President Amin Jemayel to disavow the pact.

The decision to leave the Shouf was a watershed in Israel's Lebanon policy. It marked a shift from attempting to strike a deal with the central government in Beirut on safeguarding Israeli security interests in southern Lebanon, to efforts to secure those interests through direct arrangements with local forces in the area. And it was reached over the strenuous protestations of the Jemayel administration that the withdrawal was a violation of the May 17 agreement — which was then, as it remains now, unratified by Lebanon.

It is time, then, to recognize the situation in Lebanon for what it really is — a power struggle between Israel and Syria over the inert body of a shattered and dismembered Lebanon.

Both countries have security interests in Lebanon, Israel in the south and Syria in the north and east. And both are determined to protect those interests, if possible by having them confirmed by a "sovereign" Lebanese government.

Israel's bid to do this, by setting up a powerful pro-Israeli Christian regime in Beirut, foundered early on when it miscalculated Syria's will and ability to foil such a development. Now Syria is attempting to do much the same thing by relying on its Druse and Shi'ite proteges to set up a strongly pro-Syrian administration in Beirut that would safeguard *its* own interests.

The Syrian bid for power appears to have been rather more successful than Israel's. In part, at least, this is due to the fact that Israel has been less resolute than Syria in foiling its rival's designs, because the costs for Israel are higher. And an American attempt to checkmate Syria has come to naught.

Israel cannot, therefore, escape the reality of Syrian primacy in Lebanon. Which does not mean that an effort should not be made to provide an umbrella for Israeli interests in southern Lebanon within the framework of a system of tacit understandings that Syria was in the past prepared to accept.

WARNING TO DRUSE

(Continued from Page One)

armoured patrols northwards from the Awali line. On Saturday a patrol comprising tanks and armoured personnel carriers reached almost as far as Damour, but returned without making contact with hostile forces.

Defence Minister Arens, interviewed on American television yesterday, also said Israel is keeping up its pressure on the Druse to prevent the PLO from regrouping in the area under their control.

Arens said Israel had "no choice" but to stay in south Lebanon until a Lebanese government could provide a "credible commitment" to maintain security in the area. He made no mention of the discussions under way in the defence establishment and in the cabinet on options for a partial withdrawal or 'redeployment.'

But Premier Shamir, in a statement before flying to Europe yesterday morning, said these discussions would continue in the army during his four-day absence, and would be resumed in the cabinet after his return.

Shamir is holding trade talks with European Community ministers in Brussels. He will also meet today with French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson and other European statesmen to review the situation in Lebanon.

Asked whether it is appropriate for him to be absent from the country during the present tense period in Lebanon, Shamir retorted that "Brussels is not so far from Jerusalem" and that "everything is being taken care of."

Deputy Premisr David Levy, who is standing in for the premier, chaired yesterday's cabinet meeting which heard a detailed exposition from Arens on developments in Lebanon.

FLEET

(Continued from Page One)

from the Shouf Mountains last September which undercut American diplomacy in Lebanon.

In an interview with columnist Joseph Kruft, Shultz said that when the IDF withdrew, Syria's President Assad realized that he would not have to withdraw his own army to get Israeli concessions. This realization on Assad's part, Shultz said, meant the failure of American diplomacy to get all foreign forces out of Lebanon and to help set up a stable central government.

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Following Mr. Hoffberger's speech there will be a question and answer session.
The meeting will take place on Wednesday, February 22 at 6 p.m. in Moses Hall, Beit Agron, Hillel Street, Jerusalem.
Admission by invitation only

U.S. and the Gulf: problem of credibility

By MORDECHAI ABIR

THE WITHDRAWAL of the U.S. Marines from Beirut and the collapse of Amin Jemayel's pro-Western government in Lebanon served as an ominous background for a new wave of Iranian militancy in the Persian Gulf. For the first time since the start of the Iran-Iraq war, the Iranian leadership openly declared that its refusal to end the war with Baghdad is motivated by its determination to replace the Iraqi Ba'ath regime by an Islamic revolutionary one.

For the last three months, Teheran has been systematically reinforcing its army along the Iraqi border. On its part, Baghdad has mobilized its reserves and has concentrated a huge armoured corps near the front line. Once the expected Iranian attack in northern Iraq was launched, the Iraqis began to bombard civilian towns in Iran. This sparked off an indiscriminate shelling of major Iraqi towns within range of the Iranian artillery.

It is expected that after the missile attack on Iran's petrochemical complex at Bandar Khumeini, Iraq's next target will be the major Iranian oil terminal at Kharg Island. Teheran has already threatened on numerous occasions that if this happens Iran will stop the flow of oil from the region altogether.

The Islamic revolutionary regime of Iran may also attempt to activate its Shi'ite supporters all over the Gulf against the weak local governments and crucial oil installations. The collapse of the Western presence in Lebanon, which goes back to the bombing of the American embassy in Beirut and Washington's inability to deal with the situation, may serve as a model for Teheran.

Syrian President Hafez Assad based his brinkmanship tactics in Lebanon on the assumption that the U.S. was incapable of stopping him and that Israel was paralysed by internal problems. Damascus' reestablished predominance in Lebanon and its new power in the Arab camp as a whole have now become an accepted fact.

Moscow's influence in the Middle East also gained from the achievements of its Syrian and Druse allies. Had it not been for the demise of President Yuri Andropov, it was expected that Geidar Aliev, Andropov's KGB appointee to the Politbureau, would have visited the Syrian capital to discuss the expansion of cooperation between Moscow and Damascus and the future of Lebanon. But although such talks were temporarily postponed, Washington's inability to protect its interests and allies in the Middle East against the Syrians dealt a serious blow to its prestige and credibility in the region.

AN INTERVIEW granted at the beginning of February by Crown Prince Abdullah to visiting American businessmen served as an indication that Riyadh was again adapting to the changing situation in Lebanon. In this interview Abdullah, the acknowledged head of the anti-Amercian, pro-Syrian faction in the Saudi ruling class, called upon Washington to withdraw the Marines from Beirut.

Abdullah has been keeping a low profile in Saudi politics since his failure to mediate between Washington and Damascus and between Syria and Iraq, and Assad's refusal to honor Abdullah's promise, in the first half of 1983, that an Israeli agreement to evacuate Lebanon would precipitate a similar Syrian step.

His much-publicized speech in the first week of February was therefore an indication that, anticipating a Syrian victory in the struggle for power in Lebanon, Riyadh was again attempting to improve its relations with the radical Arab leadership.

Moreover, while the Saudi treasury has gradually reduced grants to most Arab countries over the last two years by up to one half, its subsidies to Syria, estimated at nearly $1.5 billion, have not been touched.

Riyadh, it is clear, is aware and apprehensive of Syria's growing influence in the Arab world and the possible impact of this process on Saudi Arabia and its new elites. This, as well as the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Gulf, could be the cause of the accelerated efforts to bring Egypt back into the Arab fold, which culminated in the Casablanca summit with the decision to invite Cairo to rejoin the Islamic Conference Organization.

In Kuwait, the trial opened on February 8 of 25 Shi'ites, accused of participation in an attack on the local American embassy and of other subversive activities. Assembled from Iraq, Lebanon, Kuwait and elsewhere, this group belonged to the "Islamic Jihad," one of the front organizations serving the Iranian Da'awa (literally, "the call," a name also used by the Iraqi Shi'ite subversive organization). In addition to its activity in Lebanon, this centre of propaganda and subversion in Teheran is believed to be responsible for the training of Shi'ites from all over the Gulf in sabotage and terrorist tactics.

Thus, at the beginning of February, a number of Shi'ites were arrested in Bahrain following the discovery of an arms cache in that country. Similar incidents were reported from Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, and one source even claimed that tension is building up in Saudi Arabia's eastern province.

With its terror tactics vindicated in Lebanon, it is not unlikely that the Da'awa may be planning to use similar tactics against "soft" American, other Western and local targets in the Gulf and in Iraq, where large Shi'ite communities reside. Having witnessed, moreover, the Lebanese army's collapse in Beirut, following a call by Nabih Berri, the leader of the Lebanese Amal movement, to Shi'ite soldiers to desert, Saudi Arabia and its allies are increasingly apprehensive lest the same phenomenon is repeated in Iraq or "their" Shi'ites are used against their regimes.

In two speeches made on February 10 and February 13, Ali Khameini, Iran's president, threatened to stop the shipment of oil from the Gulf to the West if the latter supports Iran's enemies. "I wish to declare that we possess the oil weapon and we will not hesitate to deploy it against the enemies of Islam. The closure of the Straits of Hormuz will paralyse the Western economy."

Previously Khameini and other Iranian leaders warned the rulers of the Gulf countries to discontinue their aid to Saddam Hussein's regime. These threats were followed by the abduction of the Saudi consul general in Beirut in mid-January and by the assassination in Paris in the beginning of February of the UAE ambassador.

TEHERAN MAY indeed believe that the best way to establish an Islamic revolutionary government in Baghdad, and elsewhere in the Gulf, is to stop the shipment of oil from this area and hence to bring the West to its knees. Such aspirations must have been strengthened by the Syrian-Iranian achievement in Lebanon.

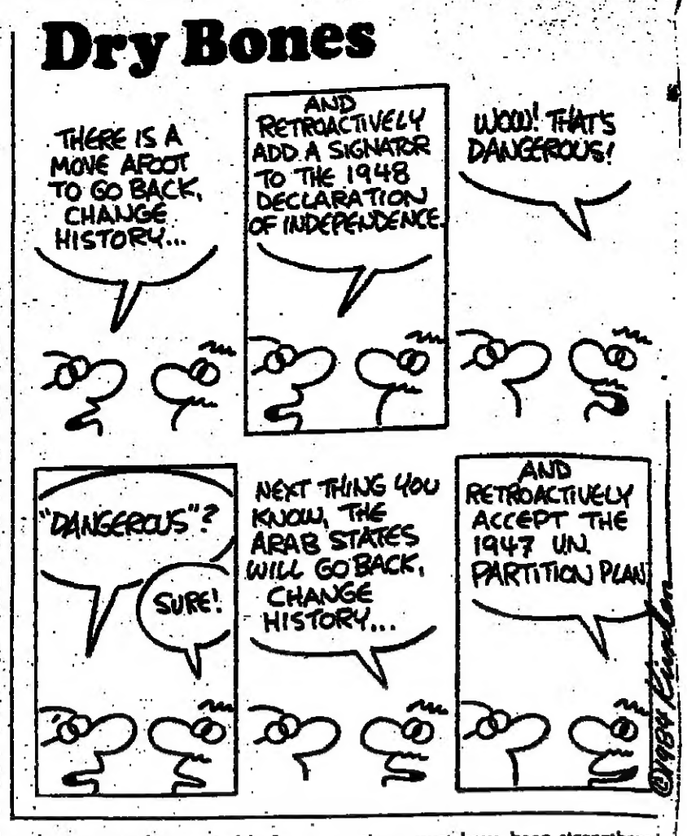
Iran's militancy and the rising power of Ba'athist Syria have already frightened Riyadh and caused it to assume a more "neutral" stance in the politics of the region. A serious escalation in the Iran-Iraq war and/or the situation in the Gulf, unless checked by Washington, could undermine the Saudi government, or send it into the arms of the Arab radicals (as was the case in 1979). It could also spark off a new oil crisis which would halt, or even reverse, the recovery of the world's economy.

Much will depend, therefore, on the policy which the U.S. adopts in the coming months and on Washington's ability to retain its credibility and maintain the stability in the Persian Gulf.

Yet, in the light of the Lebanese experience Washington, notwithstanding the fact that 1984 is an election year, may choose rather to build up and utilize the power of a pro-Western Arab axis, even if this is at Israel's expense.

The writer is Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at the Hebrew University.

Dry Bones



Call for elections in the West Bank

By YEHUDA LUKACS and HILLEL SCHENKER

PRIME MINISTER Shamir has declared that he is ready to negotiate with King Hussein of Jordan over the fate of the West Bank. But it is quite clear that Hussein is not ready to enter into such negotiations, without Palestinian agreement and participation.

Since it is the future of the West Bank that is at stake, it would seem most logical (and democratic as well) to include representatives of the West Bank in any possible Palestinian-Jordanian delegation that would participate in future negotiations.

The imperative of West Bank Palestinian participation in the peace process has been underscored in a number of major documents and initiatives; e.g. the Camp David autonomy proposal, President Reagan's peace plan, and the respective Israeli and Egyptian autonomy proposals.

Camp David specifies that "...the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects... (and the) civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas..."

The Reagan Plan reiterates that "a five-year period of transition would begin after free elections..." The official Israeli autonomy proposal of January 1982 states that the "Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district... will choose this body (the self-governing authority) in free elections..."

Correspondingly, the Egyptian proposed model of autonomy of January 1980 declares that "this self-governing authority with full autonomy will come through free elections."

THE IMPORTANCE of West Bank Palestinian participation in the process was also stressed by Secretary of State George Shultz, who told the Council of Jewish Federations in Atlanta last November: "Their well-being (that of the 1.3 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza), their desire for a greater voice in determining their own destiny, must be another issue of moral concern."

Despite these declarations, none of the parties seems to be doing anything to promote the possibility of the West Bank Palestinians having a real voice in determining their own future.

The recent discussions between the U.S. administration and Israeli government officials about "improving the welfare" of West Bank inhabitants are all very well, but they do not deal with the fundamental underlying issues of human rights (highlighted recently in the Karp Report and the report on Human Rights in the Occupied Territories published by the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East) and political rights.

What can be done, then, to break out of the impasse in the peace process?

The attention of the various parties has been chiefly focussed on the idea of a settlement freeze. There is no doubt that this is a desirable and necessary step towards building trust and encouraging Palestinian and Jordanian participation in the negotiating process.

WE PROPOSE an additional means of breaking the present deadlock: the holding of municipal elections in the occupied territories.

The desire to enable West Bank Palestinians to produce a representative voice was one of the motivations behind the elections that were held in 1976. Those elections were marked by a high degree of participation (72 per cent) and a lack of interference by the Israeli authorities.

Such elections, now as then, should be regarded as more than just municipal elections. The 1976 elections paved the way for the emergence of an authentic leadership which eventually established the National Guidance Committee in 1978, in the wake of the Camp David Accords, as a vehicle for the expression of Palestinian West Bank opinion.

Unfortunately, the Israeli government backtracked on its support for this elective process, when it banned the National Guidance Committee and then proceeded to depose or deport most of the elected mayors. Bethlehem's Mayor Elias Freij is the only elected mayor still in office today.

This negative approach does not stand up to logical scrutiny and ignores the need to advance towards peace. In addition to Elias Freij, all of the deposed and deported mayors are on record as having called for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, alongside and in peaceful coexistence with the State of Israel.

THE GROWING moderation of the West Bank leadership was recently demonstrated by the publication of a statement condemning the bomb attack against an Israeli bus in Jerusalem. "Such acts," it declared, "be they in Jerusalem, Ein El Hilweh or Beirut, are to be regretted. Violence against civilians carried out by either side is counterproductive to a just solution...and are detrimental to any Palestinian-Israeli coexistence and understanding..."

This statement was signed by five leading Palestinian personalities: Karim Khalaf, the deposed mayor of Ramallah (who has been under house arrest in Jericho for the past three years, and was the victim of an assassination attempt), Mustafa Natshe, the deposed mayor of Hebron, Anwar Nusseibeh, the head of the East Jerusalem Electric Company and a former Jordanian minister of defence, Hana Siniora, Editor-In-Chief of *Al-Fajr*, and Paul Ajlouni, Publisher of *Al-Fajr*.

The leadership of the Gaza Strip, headed by deposed Gaza Mayor Rashad Ashawa, along with other major West Bank spokespeople such as Ramonda Tawil, Aziz Shekhada, and Jammal Nasser, have also expressed their support for this position.

In light of the constructive positions now adopted by all of the mayors elected in 1976, we also propose that they be reinstated, and/or be allowed to run in the proposed future elections.

It should be understood that this proposal is not an attempt to compartmentalize the issue — i.e. to separate the West Bank Palestinians from the totality of the Palestinian problem. Clearly, an equitable solution to the Palestinian problem requires the participation both of the indigenous West Bankers and of the other legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. Neither is it our intention to suggest to the Palestinians who should represent them; if and when they choose to participate in the diplomatic process in the context of whatever plan may be on the agenda.

Clearly, this is their prerogative. However, it is equally apparent that they would do well — for their own sake — to find some formula which will enable them to participate, before it is too late.

And the Palestinians are not the only ones for whom time is running out.

All delusions about the possibility of a "military solution" to the Palestinian problem, should have been destroyed in the wake of the Lebanese debacle.

It is clearly in the best interests of Israel as well to arrive at a political resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, based upon a reasonable compromise, a conflict which has been taking such a tragic human and economic toll from both peoples for over 80 years.

Hillel Schenker is associate editor of New Outlook.

Yehuda Lukacs was, until recently, projects coordinator for the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East.

READERS' LETTERS

GEULA TO HEAD ALIYA DEPARTMENT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — The most capable person to head the Aliya Department of the WZO-Jewish Agency is not in Herut.

Qualification for this important position is that of a staunch Zionist; an aggressive worker who has innovative ideas and can speak with deep conviction of his or her belief in aliya as the paramount ideal in Zionism.

Diaspora leaders as well are interested in a qualified person and claim not to base their opinions on political ideology; therefore, I suggest Mrs. Geula Cohen for this post.

Geula Cohen is one of the outstanding Zionist figures today. I recall her appearances last spring on college campuses on behalf of the University Service Department of the American Zionist Youth Foundation. She inspired students from Hashomer Hatzair on the left to Betar on the right with her love of Israel.

All of us were impressed with her candour and energy and agreed with her statement that there are illegal settlements: in Brooklyn, Boston and Berkeley.

SOL LOSHINSKY
Maaleh Adumim.

NEW SHIPPING SERVICE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — We refer to your report of February 6, "New express shipping service to Europe," and wish to point out that the constituting members have no intention of naming this service "The Five Star Service."

The North West Continental Lines operate together under the style and title of "EMCOL," i.e. Europe Mediterranean Container Line, which is their actual trade name under which their services are marketed in Israel through their agents, Ardo Shipping, Tel Aviv, and Aaron Rosenfeld, Haifa.

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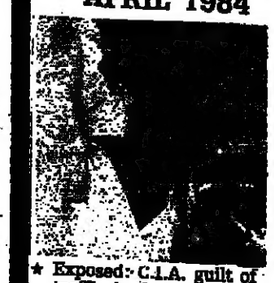

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